Non-Partisan Discussion of International Movements

World Unity

Pacific School of Religion Berkeley Calif.

LEADING ARTICLES

The United States Leads the Way—*Editorial*
Twilight of the American Peace Movement—*Smith*
Correlation of Orient and Occident—*Das*
The Stages of Nationalism—*Randall*
The Unemployment Problem—*Cary*

Interpreting the spirit of the new age

"National security in this twentieth century is to be found in a new point of view and in public policies which are the outgrowth and reflection of it."—*Nicholas Murray Butler*

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A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Issued October 1, 1927

WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE, as its title implies, will endeavor to interpret and record those significant changes in present-day thought which mark the trend toward worldwide understanding and a humanized civilization able to release the finer aspirations of mankind.

Its essential purpose is to make accessible to awakened minds the views and conclusions of creative workers on subjects of truly general interest and importance. The emergence of new and higher values in philosophy, science, religion, ethics and the arts from the alembic of universal unrest represents the focal point of vision for World Unity Magazine.

To create a medium capable of responding faithfully, without prejudice of race, creed, class or nationality, to the uprush of the spirit of the age wherever or however manifested—this is the ideal to which World Unity Magazine is devoted; and faith in humanity arising at last to assert its organic oneness, the foundation on which it stands.

Constructive suggestions will be heartily welcomed from progressive individuals and organizations to assist the Magazine to fulfill its function as a clearing-house of ideas and plans reflecting the organic trends of the age toward world unity and cooperation. The Magazine will endeavor to publish significant articles of a stimulating character, without assuming responsibility for its contributors' views.

WORLD UNITY

INTERPRETING
THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, *Editor*
HORACE HOLLEY, *Managing Editor*

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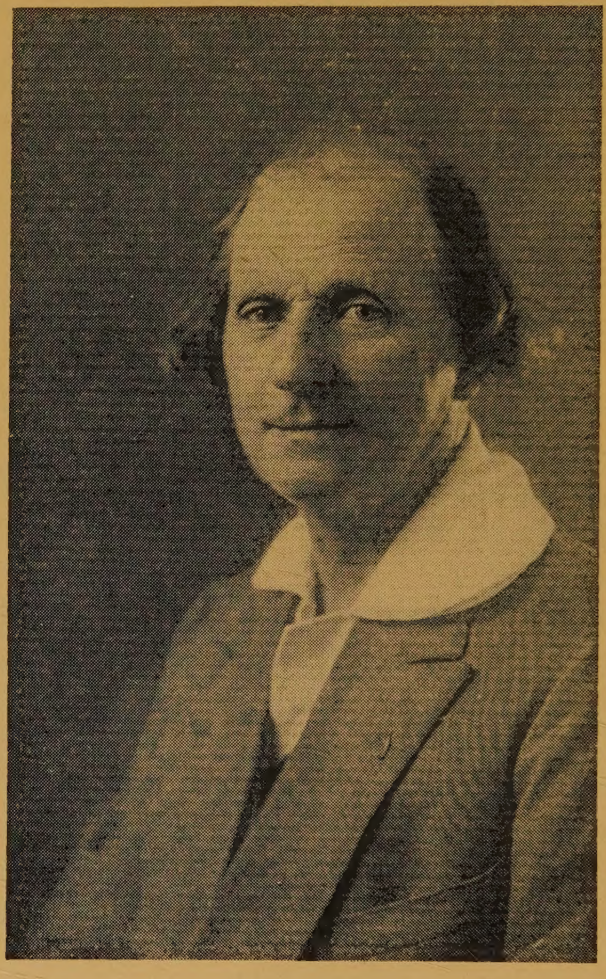

HENDRIK CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN
Apostle of World Unity

THE UNITED STATES LEADS THE WAY

EDITORIAL

At last the United States has taken the lead in what may prove to be the most influential and far-reaching action since the signing of the Armistice. It is easily possible to overestimate the significance of the moratorium. That it is only a beginning, a brief breathing spell, and that it by no means offers the whole solution of the many complex problems which the world now confronts is self-evident. But this should not blind us to the fact that it *is* a beginning, a first step toward better things for Europe and for the world; and its psychological influence can scarcely be overestimated.

When President Hoover announced on June 19th that he was conferring with the leaders of both political parties with a view to helping the world situation, especially Germany, all internationally-minded people in every country breathed a prayer of gratitude that at last Mr. Hoover was bestirring himself in international affairs with a view to cooperation and aid where it was most needed. And when the next day came his proposal for a year's postponement "of all payments on intergovernmental debts, reparations and relief debts both principal and interest," a strange thrill of new hope and encouragement vibrated all around the world.

As was to be expected, France, in harmony with her consistent policy of maintaining the *status quo,* and also because of the sacrifice which such a moratorium would involve for her, raised objection to the plan. However, at present writing, an agreement has been reached, due to the negotiations carried on in Paris by Mr. Mellon, and also to the very high order of open diplomacy exer-

cised by President Hoover and backed by world sentiment, which apparently leaves the original proposal practically unchanged. For this consummation we can but be profoundly thankful.

Aside from the outburst of optimism which the moratorium has called forth in all the capitals of the world, this action has brought about two fundamental changes in the general situation. First, the United States has at last admitted officially a connection between inter-Allied debts and reparations. Second, the provisions for a moratorium which are included in the Young Plan have been virtually scrapped, and the way has been prepared for a further revision of the plan and even of all post-war treaties. The immediate result attained is the saving of Germany from catastrophe which would have meant tragedy indeed for Europe and the world, for as Dr. Curtius has declared, the help furnished by the moratorium has come just in the nick of time.

Whether a single step has been taken for the sake of saving Germany from immediate collapse and the European nations will return on July 1st, 1932, to the methods that brought them to the verge of ruin a year earlier, or whether a first step has been taken which must lead inevitably to a world conference for the revision of past agreements remains for the future to determine.

The next immediate goal is the Disarmament Conference at Geneva early in 1932. To quote from The Nation, "There lies the next rampart to be taken by storm, for within it lies one of the six or seven major causes why Europe has fallen to its present low estate. The swollen armaments of Europe have contributed not one whit to its safety or peace."

If the leadership of President Hoover which has found expression in the moratorium can only be followed by an equally courageous leadership in the forthcoming Disarmament Conference, and then in tariff revision in allegiance to the World Court, and the League of Nations, and in all the great problems calling for international cooperation, then we should see the many clouds that now darken the world's sky gradually disappearing and a new day would dawn for humanity.

J. H. R.

THE TWILIGHT OF THE AMERICAN PEACE MOVEMENT

by

GEORGE H. E. SMITH

THE American peace movement is entering the twilight zone of apathy and indifference. Will obscurity destroy its effectiveness, or will it gain new strength to emerge triumphant? Much depends upon the willingness and courage of the peace advocates to meet a bad situation which is steadily growing worse.

For ten years the peace movement flourished. Some two hundred organizations, working in one way or another for international peace, are said to be active. They are grouped under five heads as follows:

"I. National organizations formed primarily to promote world peace.

II. State and local organizations formed primarily to promote world peace.

III. Organizations that work for peace through special committees.

IV. Organizations engaged in activities which increase international goodwill and promote world peace.

V. Organizations that support the peace movement by affiliation with peace organizations, participation in campaigns, etc."[1]

These organizations cover the whole gamut of cultural, agricultural, business, educational, religious and civic life in the United States. Their membership reaches a sizeable total. To their influence is credited certain specific victories in the cause of international peace.

1 "Organizations in the United States That Promote Better International Understanding and World Peace." Issued by the National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D.C.

Chief among these victories are: the prevention of an outbreak of hostilities with Mexico in 1927; the defeat of the big-navy program of 1928; a change of policy toward Nicaragua and Haiti; the progress toward American adherence to the World Court; the ratification of the General Pact for the Renunciation of War; and the ratification of the London Naval Treaty.

Inherent within these victories or relating to them are certain countervailing factors which scale down the significance of these achievements. Important as these factors are in fixing the long term value of each of these victories for peace, it is unnecessary to consider them now. Do these victories represent the sum total of the peace movement in the United States? Do they reflect the *peak* strength of the movement, or are they the preliminary skirmishes to greater and more significant victories yet to come? Those are the important questions.

What of the efforts of the large number of organizations which, though formed for a great variety of other purposes, are today alleged to be actively working for the establishment of peace? Reading over the reports of these organizations one is amazed at the apparent force of the drive for peace! Why, in the face of such a drive, has so little been accomplished? Why is it possible for such a tide of public opinion, so representative and apparently so overwhelming, to be stopped in its flow by a mere handful of senators in the legislative halls?

After ten years the makers and supporters of the American peace movement are asking themselves these questions. In their perplexity they are asserting such paradoxes as this: "The trend of the times is toward peace. *Yet if today the world is allowed to drift it will drift toward war.*" (Italics mine).

What is the matter with the forces working for peace? Why is it apparent they are entering the twilight zone of apathy and indifference? Can anything be done about it?

These are pertinent questions. They must be faced frankly and courageously. The situation is critical and cannot be ignored. If it is true that "It is recognized, throughout the world that America is the key to world peace," peace advocates had better pause to ex-

amine the "key" they have been forging for the past ten years that they have a clearer conception of its ultimate fitness to unlock the door for which it has been fashioned.

The most glaring defect in the peace movement, evident time and again over the past ten years, is its lack of a proper and adequate plan. For want of a plan, the peace movement adopted opportunist tactics and floundered along with the trend of the times.

Peace advocates are charged with notice of the failure of peace movements in other and much older generations. Past generations also sought to insure international peace. Why had they failed?

Of the many sound reasons for past failures, the one most useful to us in the present crisis is so simple and so obvious that we fail to accord it the importance it should, and does, have. The reason is a fundamental one and concerns the very nature of the aspiration for world peace. Briefly stated it is: *the drive for peace is a "psychological reaction" at most sporadic and transitory.*

After every war there is a tremendous surge for peace. War must not be permitted to break out again. "A war to end war" was one of the popular slogans. The drive for peace is a reflection of the repugnance to the brutalities and hardships of war. As such it is an emotional reaction. Psychological principles determine its characteristics.

Past experiences demonstrate that acting true to psychological principles the intensity of the drive for peace abates almost in direct proportion to the passage of time after the cessation of hostilities brings on the reaction favoring peace. Minor actions and reactions occur, but so far as *effective* influence is concerned, the drive for peace becomes obscured in the daily routine of men and governments and in the new rivalries born of a changing world.

The indictment against those responsible for whatever direction the American peace movement has taken in the last ten years charges them, not with the failure to make use of this "psychological reaction," but with the failure to understand its nature. The leaders in the peace movement have been so oblivious to the nature of the drive for peace that they made the *wrong* use of it.

Peace advocates moulded their activities, and consequently

limited their objectives, *to fit the psychological reaction* instead of using this reaction as *material* to build the structure for peace upon new and broader plans. Thus the American peace movement has followed in the footsteps of all other peace movements and unless a radical change of direction is made, it will arrive at the same destination—obscurity and ineffectiveness.

How the peace organizations operated is common knowledge. Asserting vaguely that international peace must be made a "way of life" through education which would be reflected ultimately in enlightened public opinion, practically all of the "organizations formed primarily to promote world peace" concentrated their numbers, the considerable sums of money at their disposal and their every effort to secure the expressions of public opinion without building the foundation of education upon which this opinion must rest.

Thus the peace advocates secured memorials, resolutions, petitions, party platforms and the like urging the adoption of the agencies and machinery for peace set up by the peace conference.

Almost every known organization in the United States was induced to go on record, in some form or other, for peace. They urged American entrance into the League of Nations, the World Court and the International Labor Organization. They called for disarmament, arms embargoes, consultative pacts, all-in arbitration treaties and declarations of governmental policy. The drive for peace—the same old peace movement, dressed in modern fashions —was on in full swing.

In this way for ten years the peace organizations succeeded in drawing forth an unprecedented number of expressions, public and private, favoring world peace. Taken all together, these expressions seemed to indicate a formidable body of public opinion. Then the peace advocates began to wonder why it was, that with so much support, they achieved so little in concrete results.

With the exception of a very few of the leaders, most of the peace advocates are today unaware of the grave mistake they made over those ten years. The public opinion they created, and which they believed was so strong, was in fact no real opinion at all. What

they had accomplished was merely a crystallization of the psychological reaction to war. They gave voice to the surface manifestations of a general desire for peace; collected such expressions and called them public opinion.

Public opinion of such a nature is illusory and unreliable. In some cases it is insincere and in all cases ineffective to accomplish any result which requires sustained action over a long term of years. Public opinion of this character is incapable of building the true foundation upon which international peace must rest.

The proof of this is interesting. Examples abound and the details would fill many volumes. Only a few can be given here.

A national organization (which has stood for arbitration of international disputes practically from its inception in 1866) adopted resolutions for adherence to the World Court; against military training in schools and compulsory military training in colleges . . . and pledging itself to an educational campaign "to build the spirit of goodwill and friendliness, to create respect and confidence and stimulate esteem between peoples, and to help all to see that the strong should not use their strength in arrogance or injustice."

That is an expression of the will to peace and forms part of the "public opinion" built up by the peace groups. Is it *real* public opinion? What substance is behind it? In this instance we do not have to guess.

A national magazine lately gathered and sorted the opinions prevailing in over a million and a half homes served by the national organization cited. At the end of a ballot used to secure these opinions this question was asked:

"If you were given twenty-five words in which to place before all America the thought that you feel most needs to be emphasized throughout all America at this time, what would you say?"

If this experiment had been tried in 1919, or even as late as 1925, I believe the replies would have indicated a very strong desire that America should work for world peace.

A few figures describe the present attitude: Only 10% of the replies dealt directly with factors immediately concerned with world peace. Of these, 8% would emphasize "HOLD FAST . . . To

the old ways . . . big-navy insularity as opposed to World Courts, etc."; and only 2% were receptive to "CHANGE . . . Throughout the world . . . (Arbitration, World Courts, world peace, etc.)."

The remaining 90% either were not interested in world peace or, and this is more likely the reason, were ignorant of the factors upon which world peace depends. Thus the resolution of the national organization does not reflect the true opinion of its constituent members at all.

Another organization, as far back as 1887, declared that its members have "the most profound interest in the establishment and maintenance of peace." It has on many occasions since "emphatically reaffirm(ed) its previous declarations for the settlement of international differences through arbitration, looking toward the final establishment of universal international peace among the civilized peoples of the world."

This is another expression of "public opinion" relied upon by the peace organizations. Is it real?

Recent experiences show that the principles embodied in the resolutions are not carried into actual practice. Though seeking peace by blanket resolution, this national organization ignores the fundamental facts upon which international peace is grounded. There is, for example, the stand of this organization on the question of tariffs, its policies of discriminatory immigration, the utterances of its spokesmen on the question of the recognition of Russia, and its silly alarms against "red" menaces.

The welfare of this large group is coming more and more to depend upon foreign trade. Yet there is not the slightest evidence that this national organization is attempting to equip its members with an intelligent understanding of the elementary principles of international production, trade and finance.

The program of another national organization, enacted in 1925, was so indicative of a genuine desire to advance international peace that even the Quakers might adopt such a program as likely to be more effective than their own. Yet since 1927 the 1925 program has been completely forgotten. It had never had reality at any time. The more recent resolutions at the national conventions of

this group tend to lean away from international peace.

These are examples of the type of public opinion from which substance is lacking. Yet this is the public opinion sought by the peace organizations. To secure it the peace organizations bent every effort. That this type of public opinion has a place in the movement for international peace, no one will deny, but that it is insubstantial and has definite limitations, the makers and supporters of the peace movement should have forseen.

At most these organizations express and reflect the emotional drive for peace. When the psychological reaction upon which the drive for peace is based passes, as it is now doing unmistakably, these organizations will perform the same function in respect of other large interests that press to the fore. The proof of that is easily seen in the present emphasis on conditions touching the eighteenth amendment.

There is a point somewhere between intensity and indifference toward the drive for peace at which all of these groups will come to rest. At intervals under the stimuli of events they will swing one way and then the other from this point, but the sallies either way are likely to be slight.

This average attitude thus reached (and upon which activities will be based) is bound to be far lower than that required to build a permanent peace psychology or sustain a sound and consistent program toward international peace. This is so because indifference derives its substance from the passage of time and the press of a multitude of routine interests, while the intensity of the drive for peace is only at its highest pitch after a protracted general war.

The great tragedy is that the organizers of the peace movement failed to see that they were attempting to erect the structure of peace upon shifting sands. They were so dazzled by the almost unlimited possibilities in the nationwide revulsion to war that they looked upon as permanent that which has never been more than transitory. They based their programs upon it. They regarded the "peak of the intensity for peace" as a sort of "ground floor" thinking to throw their forces in on that level and watch them rise to new and higher levels instead of realizing that there was only one way

for the trend to move—downward to the less intense.

Thus, in a frenzy of action equal to the high feeling for peace, organization after organization was formed to exploit the situation. Lecturers, writers and literature were used to carry on the work. It is impossible to compute the sums of money raised and spent.

Their programs and activities were badly organized and ineffective. They duplicated each other in a thousand ways regardless of the tremendous waste of money and energy. Though they had common grounds upon which to coordinate their efforts they could only agree upon one; they were all working for world peace. That was far too vague for coordination.

By their own eagerness they neutralized the intensity of the reaction they were exploiting. By the divergences within their own forces they gave strength to the opposition. They created new opposing forces. They have been forced to maintain a wide front and waste their substance seeking many objectives when all but a few were immediately unattainable.

The failure of these organizations in the one field out of which a true understanding of the factors for international peace might emerge is evident in their ineffective efforts to "educate." Almost every peace organization asserts that it is seeking to educate and that most all of its objectives are based upon education. Yet not one of them is willing to recognize that education is a "long term" process and lay its plans accordingly.

The peace organizations have not been educating and after ten years those who have been intimately identified with the movement know they have not. What they have been doing was exploiting the emotional reaction toward world peace in the name of education. The results they secured have been unsatisfactory in substance. Such results would have come anyway as a crystallization of sentiment.

As long as the peace organizations continue to exploit adult groups only for the purpose of securing *immediate responses* in the nature of resolutions and the like, the victories they wring from such groups will be incomplete, superficial and ultimately ineffective.

The peace movement has been so occupied with this education

that its leaders failed to devise the proper technique to tap the true educational forces—the primary and secondary schools, the teachers' colleges and to some degree the colleges of liberal arts and sciences.

In the field of education the efforts of the peace organizations have suffered for want of a definite and comprehensive plan. Instead of devising a proper plan and adopting methods to fit the existing and changing educational system, peace advocates have been content to accept the opportunities offered them, though such opportunities have been insufficient in number and not broad enough in scope to bring consistent and effective results.

The situation has changed but little from that of 1914 when Norman Angell wrote that the effort given to education for cooperation and common action, to international organization, is but a tea cup to the Atlantic ocean compared with the time and money and lives given to equipment for military conflict. Even more significant in his book is the following which, though written in 1914, applies today.

"It is possible to reduce the thing (the mechanism of human society and the relation of force to social advantage) to a system easily understandable; to furnish a simple social and economic philosophy of trade and the ordinary activities of life; to give the common man a pretty clear and well-defined working hypothesis of a warless civilization. *For this is certain: merely to disentangle detached facts, merely to express a general aspiration toward better things, is no good when we are opposed by a system as well-defined and understandable in its motives and methods as is the war system of Europe* (and elsewhere throughout the world). (Italics and parentheses mine.) To a system like that, reposing upon a quite definite philosophy, upon a process which is intelligible to the ordinary man, you must oppose, if you hope to replace it, another system, another working hypothesis which you must demonstrate to be more in accordance with the facts.

"I think you will agree with me that I do the peace Societies no injustice, that I do even the economic Pacificists no injustice, as it certainly is no reflection upon them in any way, if I say that *their*

efforts at education and propaganda did not take the form of showing clearly this change in the structure of human society, of revealing the process, of showing the how and why of the futility of military force. There are ample reasons perhaps, why the efforts of Peace Societies went for the most part in other directions."[2] (Italics mine).

The last sentence might well be made in defense of the peace organizations of today, but such a defense would but serve to confirm the thesis of the present article that peace advocates are blind to the direction in which the peace movement is going. Nothing has been learned from past failures. The same mistakes of which Mr. Angell wrote in 1914 are being made all over again today.

Education for international peace is poorly planned and inefficiently executed. It is sporadic. There are for example the various Armistice Day and Goodwill Day celebrations in the schools. Most children take part in such programs without ever knowing what it is all about. They are drilled in the parts they are to play just as they are taught to recite or sing. To the children, participation in such activities is not a part of a conscious pattern designed to condition them to build a structure for world peace, but precisely the same "holiday" activity with the same atmosphere surrounding Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day and the like.

There is positive proof that International Relations Clubs and similar activities fail to accomplish the purposes for which they have been fostered, except perhaps in the annual reports of their administrators.

The pamphlets of a dozen organizations tell "what one can do for peace in the schools" without the slightest comprehension of the problems involved. At most the educational activities of these organizations are sporadic and without a definite plan.

The peace forces are entering upon the twilight zone of their existence precisely because they neglected to lead the people to support the right kind of a peace movement. Thousands of members came to the peace organizations during the peak of the drive for peace. They contributed funds to carry on the methods of the peace

2—Norman Angell, Arms and Industry, p. 228-229.

organizations which, as has been previously stated, amounted to nothing more than an exploitation of an emotional reaction.

Now these organizations must go on giving more and more lectures, luncheons, teas, dinners and the like. Their speakers must be "bigger and better" men. They must invoke the same futile dramatizations of their objects, their methods and their results.

It is the road the public was induced to believe led to world peace. The public is reluctant to travel any other. If they do not get these things they lose interest and stop their contributions. And because they have been getting these things for ten years while the chances for attaining world peace seem as remote as ever, they are getting bored with the reiteration and deserting the fold.

Many of the national peace organizations are putting forth a bold front, asserting large membership totals though in some cases over the half the total members so claimed have neither paid dues in support of the organizations nor even maintained any active interest in the work for the past three years.

Many of these organizations began to feel the pinch before economic depression set in. One organization that had distributed literature on a nominal or free basis for years, changed its policy to make an adequate charge for such material in the future. Another adopted a similar policy with respect to its constituent groups in the field. The number of issues of magazines put out by other groups has been cut from twelve to six and four a year; and some have been discontinued altogether. These are straws indicating the tightening of the lines made necessary by diminishing support.

The organizations themselves have become so inflexible in their policies and activities that they are incapable of entertaining meritorious projects within the scope of their fields without months and even years of delay. Budget requirements, based upon the policies and requirements of the last ten years, have these organizations in a tight grip, as much dictated by tradition of ten years as is the world by the traditions of centuries.

The directors of these organizations do not have the vision to see the steps necessary to solve the problem, nor have they the courage to take a change in direction when it is urged upon them. Few

organizations are employing their facilities effectively. Most of these organizations are still treating of world peace in that spectacular, emotional manner developed erroneously at the inception of the movement when the peak of the psychological reaction invited and sustained that kind of exploitation.

What can be done about it?

Obviously the peace advocates must adopt a new conception of the methods by which international peace may be attained. This new conception will take the psychological reaction (what there is left of it) for granted. It will not permit the continued emphasis on the costly and hopeless task of trying to converge a thousand interests into one channel as it now attempts by seeking meaningless resolutions, but will shift that emphasis to build and chart such a channel as will eventually spread out and properly control a thousand interests. It will lay an educational plan.

Having corrected its own attitude, the peace movement will have to take stock of itself even as the economic life of the country has been forced to a new basis. The professional peace organizations should lose no time in making a survey of the movement.

The purpose of such a survey should be to find out the number and actual strength of all the organizations primarily formed to foster international peace. It should learn the source, extent and expectations of their funds. The true membership of each organization should be determined. Accurate data on expenditures should be collected. As detailed an inventory of their equipment and facilities as can be made should be provided.

Such a survey should include a searching investigation of the policies of each organization. Even more important are the details of the activities through which these broader policies are carried out in the field. There are now wide divergences between the policies of the parent organizations and the operatives in the field.

This survey should be pointed toward two things: a comprehensive and unified program; and an effective coordination of the entire movement.

Such a comprehensive program would center about certain common denominators of the policies of the peace organizations.

These common denominators would tend to unify the movement as a whole by eliminating the extremes in existing objectives. The peace movement can never be effective until this is done.

With a common, unified program, the peace organizations will find the next step—a common activity denominator—an easy one to take. A technique of coordination will flow from it. Coordination will reduce expenses without curtailing proper activities. It will marshall the forces of peace into a compact body, well supported, efficiently operated and directed toward specific and attainable objectives.

Only through some such reforms will the peace movement be saved. Unless the peace organizations reconsider the course they have been pursuing ineffectively for ten years; unless they can put aside their petty jealousies and apply their own teachings of cooperation to their own practices; unless they organize more effectively and direct their activities accordingly; unless they do these things promptly, they will lose the respect and support of the public already diminishing alarmingly, achieve less progress and ultimately pass from the twilight zone of apathy and indifference into oblivion—until after the next war when they may live again the same brief, ineffectual life span.

TRANSFORMING WAR DEBTS INTO WORLD CREDITS

by

CARL A. ROSS
Attorney

OUR world peace problem is more far reaching than the mere question of military belligerency. Armies, navies, disarmament, reduction of armaments, germ warfare, etc., are directly involved in belligerency. Back of all these problems lie questions of taxation, balancing budgets, amortization of war debts, reparations, etc., questions all touching the inner economic life of every citizen. While people generally are convinced that war does not pay, yet few feel confidence that this restraining influence alone will prevent another war; rather do not people feel that the World War created such insufferable economic and financial conditions, such oppressive taxation, such a trade depression, that in sheer despair some nation will be precipitated into a fresh revolt? Some one must pay, in loss of money, of value, of living wage or in some combination of these and similar factors. Why shift this burden again by modification, or repudiation? Such action spells economic welfare, and how much longer can it be vigorously waged? What is the difference between a "Big Bertha" and an 8% plus foreign government loan, between cancellation and an aerial gas bomb asphyxiating the people? Does such world wide economic war presage sound international financing during the coming decade?

Strictly speaking, is there such a thing as international finance, international credit, international debts? British credit, French credit, United States credit is good and sound, we admit, nationally or internationally; but international credit—is there such a thing at present? How can there be international credits when there are no

international debts? Reparations involve payments between nations only. The League may be itching to decide which nation shall pay and which shall lose, but it has no funds of its own, it cannot pay war debts because it cannot tax. Why should industry and finance in one country rather than in another be burdened for the good of our World Community?

Does it not seem that we have been fooled by this big war debt long enough? Versailles said Germany must pay to the last farthing, no matter what the amount, this is final! The Dawes Plan said Germany shall pay all she is able (we are trying to act internationally). The Young Plan says, the laws of economics will let you load only so much on Germany, the balance in red must fall where it will, but the sixty-two year payments are safely funded! However, we beg to forecast that Wall Street, Lombard Street and the Bourse will continue to discount this sixty-two year paper. We are reminded that this sixty-two year paper is not listed on any exchange, that no discounts are quoted. But who cannot read there discounts in quotations of other listed government paper? Here we have a World Community of nations, the United States, the most able to pay interest, with bonds selling to yield 2-3 percent, while the bonds of such worthy and wealthy countries as Argentina and Germany are selling to yield around 8 percent, and the securities of Brazil, Poland and numerous other nations are quoted only at higher yields or not quoted at all because they virtually have no credit. If so many nations in our World Community are paying 8 percent or more, what is private enterprise paying? Take the United States as a guide; loans to private enterprise pay 3-4 percent above government loans. This means 11-12 percent money in 8 percent countries where the few Banks would not now loan to private enterprise at reasonable rates, say 6 percent, even with the bonds of their home government as collateral. If conditions in the United States were such that our government bonds were selling on an 8 percent basis what would it indicate as to loans and rates on loans to private individuals? Who can safely buy and sell in 8 percent countries? Perhaps some country may risk a loan at 8 percent plus to help unload a surplus its manufacturers are ready to "dump."

How is trade carried on? Is not barter indulged in by the common people? To do business on any other basis requires the services of an expert, some international trading firm who has spent years learning all about chervonetz, dinar, drachma, kroon, leu, markka, peso, piaster, zloty, etc., and yet you say so-called International Bankers have loaned to 8 percent countries, how many billions is it, since 1919? Much of this paper is held in the United States; is it "prime"? Does it tie up credit? Whose credit? Does this 8% government paper serve as currency or as a medium of exchange in any effective way in any country? Does it not rather tie up cash needed for the ordinary commercial transactions? Whose cash? From another point of view does it not also mean a marked depreciation in values? Depreciation, where?

It has been estimated that in the United States our public bonds (federal, state, municipal, etc.,) aggregate 26% of our property value and thus constitute an underlying mortgage of 26% on all our property. What would this underlying mortgage be increased to if these public bonds paid over 8% interest, about three times what we now pay? Would the United States still be rated as the most prosperous country? But is not this the plight of all 8% countries? How can they carry the load? Are they not headed for bankruptcy? You may well ask what else than repudiation can save them.

Let us take a glimpse into early American public debts, which, like the debts of most nations, were war debts. John Fiske shows the plight of Massachusetts, one of the stronger of the thirteen nations, about 1785. "The pressure of debt was keenly felt. It is estimated that the private debts amounted to some $7,000,000.00 and the state's arrears to the federal government amounted to some $7,000,000.00 more. Adding the arrears of bounties due to the soldiers, and the annual cost of the state, county and town governments, there was reached an aggregate equivalent to a tax of more than $50.00 on every man, woman and child in this population of 378,000 souls. Upon every head of a family the average burden was some $200.00 at a time when most farmers would have thought such a sum yearly a princely income."

McLaughlin shows that this condition followed a period of

war inflation. "At the end of the war, there was no dearth of money. Probably never throughout the course of colonial history had there been so much specie as circulated in the country immediately after the withdrawal of the English troops. For it must be remembered that during eight years and more the English exchequer had been sending its sovereigns to America, that France had freely lent her gold, that the American farmer and merchant had received the bright guineas and *louis d'or* of the foreign armies without even the appearance of hesitation. It has been estimated that in the three years succeeding the war at least £1,260,000 in coin went to England." Fiske shows that each state in this new American Community was trying to load off its debt on some other state by tariffs and the like. "Meanwhile, the different states, with their different tariff and tonnage acts, began to make commercial war upon one another. No sooner had the other three New England States virtually closed their ports to British shipping than Connecticut threw hers wide open, an act which she followed up by laying duties upon imports from Massachusetts. The conduct of New York became especially selfish and blameworthy. The City of New York, with its population of 30,000 souls, had long been supplied with firewood from Connecticut, and with butter and cheese, chickens and garden vegetables from the thrifty farms of New Jersey. This trade, it was observed, carried thousands of dollars into the pockets of detested Yankees and despised Jerseymen. It was ruinous to domestic industry. It must be stopped by a navigation act and a protective tariff. Acts were accordingly passed, obliging every Yankee sloop which came down through Hell Gate, and every Jersey market boat which rowed across from Paulus Hook to Cortlandt Street, to pay entrance fees and obtain clearances, just as was done by ships from London, and not a cartload of Connecticut firewood could be delivered at the back-door of a country house in Beekman Street until it should have paid a heavy duty. The New Jersey legislature made up its mind to retaliate. Connecticut was equally prompt."

To return to public debts, Fiske says: "The cost of the Revolutionary War had been about $170,000,000.00. To meet this crushing indebtedness Mr. Hildreth reckons the total amount raised,

whether by means of repudiated paper or of taxes, down to 1784, was not more than $30,000,000." In 1790, Hamilton, as first Secretary of the Treasury, reported: "These several sums constitute the whole of the debt of the United States, amounting together to $54,124,464.56. That of the individual states may be safely stated at $25,000,000." Adding the $30,000,000 paid "by means of repudiated paper or taxes," we gain a total of $109,000,000 of the $170,000,000 cost, so that before our constitution was adopted the net result of war financing was:

30 million paid on account, largely by repudiation or depreciation of paper in the hands of citizens;

61 million not accounted for at all except by like repudiation, actual loss or depreciation; and

79 million outstanding in some form of State or Continental paper worth not more than 25 cents on the dollar.

The scoffer might say the thirteen States and the Continental Congress were very clever to get their debts paid so easily, but the irony of the situation appears when it is noted that the mass of the people including many leaders (although not fascists), wanted to complete the good work of liquidation for their governments by repudiating the $79,000,000 government paper outstanding, so that the Thirteen States and the Continental Congress could have gone on their way rejoicing that the dreaded war debt was all paid and the citizens could have reflected on and taken comfort in their sacrifices for the good of their lords, their fascist States.

Before we study Hamilton's First Report on Public Credit, to see how he, as first Secretary of the Treasury, reacted to this dismal financial outlook, let us analyze our World War debts. A Government official has estimated the total cost of the World War at 186 billion dollars, distributed as follows: (in billions)

United States	22	Germany	39
Great Britain	38	Austria	21
France	26	Turkey and	
Italy	13	Bulgaria	3
Russia	18		

Other Allies	6		
	123		63

Ten years after the war what has been liquidated "by repudiation or by taxes?"

United States (paid by taxes)	10	Balance	12
Great Britain		"	38
France (by stabilizing the franc)	20	"	6
Italy (by stabilizing the lira)	8	"	5
Russia (by repudiation)	18	"	0
Other Allies		"	6
Germany (by repudiation)	39	"	0
Austria "	21	"	0
Turkey and Bulgaria (repudiation)	3	"	0
Totals	119		67

These figures are rough estimates, they fail to take into account reparation payments and many other factors, but they show the general trend of World War financing sufficiently for comparison with Revolutionary War financing and prove that the war financing of both wars, exhibits the same departures from sound banking principles. The World War results show that out of a cost of 186 billions, 119 billions, or 64% was liquidated "by means of repudiated paper or of taxes," very largely repudiated paper leaving 36% outstanding in government paper; while Revolutionary War results show that out of a cost of 170 millions, 91 millions, or 53% was liquidated by means of repudiated paper or of taxes, also very largely liquidated paper, leaving 47% outstanding in government paper. As to the price of these blocks of outstanding securities, it must be conceded that the World War bonds of the United States, Great Britain, France and Italy, are selling much above twenty-five percent of par value, yet we must remember that today there are more than Thirteen States in our World Community, that many of them have outstanding large blocks of securities issued for future wars (these are the 8 percent securities we have heretofore referred to), that these securities are just as inimical to good credit condi-

tions as though they were issued for the World War, and that the aggregate of this class of financing is now appalling. As in 1787 there was serious talk of repudiating the outstanding part of the public debt, so today there is serious talk of repudiating large outstanding obligations of a like nature.

The World War did not construct a primrose path to prosperity for any nation. Have not all European nations found it difficult to balance their budgets? They are experiencing what Hamilton called those "exigencies" that are to be expected to occur, in the affairs of nations, in which there will be a necessity for borrowing.

"And that, in a country which, like this, is possessed of little active wealth, or, in other words, little moneyed capital, the necessity for that resource must, in such emergencies, be proportionally urgent."

In most countries there has been need of money in late years, capital has been limited, there is little active wealth and "these exigencies" have not passed away. Over 90% of business in United States is credit business, credit is our "active wealth." Credit means that someone, somewhere, in some bank, has signed on the dotted line, that the sum thus borrowed, whether $100.00 or $100,000.00 has been deposited to the credit of the borrower and that night the "cash on deposit" in that Bank or in some banks has increased in like amount augmenting our "active wealth" in a strictly legitimate way. But we all know this process has been interrupted. Each bank, during this period of depression, says "we have no funds (confidence) to loan today, we want you to keep up your deposits (confidence), but we will let some other bank provide this cash (confidence) today, because we are short of cash (confidence). Banks are numerous in this country and when so many of them are short of confidence (cash) and refuse to create cash deposits (confidence) by discounting paper, it naturally follows that there is not the confidence (cash) in the country there should be and that citizens, most of them today, lack cash (confidence). These are our credit conditions today that Hamilton continues preaching about.

"And as, on the one hand, the necessity for borrowing, in particular emergencies, cannot be doubted, so, on the other, it is equally

evident, that, to be able to borrow on good terms, it is essential that the credit of a nation should be well established.

"For, when the credit of a country is in any degree questionable, it never fails to give an extravagant premium, in one shape or another, upon all the loans it has occasion to make. Nor does the evil end here; the same disadvantage must be sustained upon whatever is to be bought on terms of future payment.

"To attempt to enumerate the complicated variety of mischiefs in the whole system of the social economy, which proceed from a neglect of the maxims that uphold credit, would be an improper intrusion on your time and patience.

"In so strong a light, nevertheless, do they appear to the Secretary, that, on their due observance, at the present critical juncture, materially depends, in his judgment, the individual and aggregate prosperity of the citizens of the United States; their relief from the embarrassments they now experience."

Hamilton then discusses public credit, its basis in good faith, in "the punctual performance of contracts," and excuses, as best he can, the lapses that have occurred. He does not mention repudiation, but referring to good faith, says, "There is reason to regret that it has not hitherto been kept; that the necessities of the war, conspiring with inexperience in the subject of finance, produced direct infractions." Hamilton's innate integrity, wisdom and genius was never more conspicuously displayed than at this crisis. Virtually he said: Members of our New Congress, I do not believe in repudiation; cancellation of outstanding government paper is not the way out of our dilemma. These debts are honest debts, the price of freedom, can our American Community repudiate them and live? It is true our government paper is selling much below par, but I would refund it at par even though the profit in appreciation enrich the present holder rather than the original subscriber. I have discovered in our new Constitution, he continues, an asset of the greatest value, it is the right to tax the citizen. But do not fear, if we levy proper taxes to care for the interest and slowly pay off the principal, we will establish our credit so that in a few years we can borrow at a much lower rate. This reduction will work a huge sav-

ing for all. "To restore landed property to its due value, to furnish new resources both to agriculture and commerce; to cement more closely the union of the States; to establish public order on the basis of an upright and liberal policy;—these are the great and invaluable ends to be secured by a proper and adequate provision for the support of public credit."

It is fortunate for the United States that Hamilton could see his problem from the broad American point of view and was not a narrow partisan like Governor Clinton, of whom Fiske says: "It was his first article of faith that New York must be the greatest state in the Union. He was the vigorous and steadfast advocate of every illiberal and exclusive measure, and the most uncompromising enemy to a closer union of the states." Shall we follow such leaders today and deprive ourselves of the benefits that Hamilton pointed out would result from a broad, liberal policy?

"First. Trade is extended by it, because there is a larger capital to carry it on.

"Secondly. Agriculture and manufactures are also promoted by it, for the like reason.

"Thirdly. The interest of money will be lowered by it.

"But these good effects of a public debt are only to be looked for, when, by being well funded, it has acquired an adequate and stable value; till then, it has rather a contrary tendency. The fluctuation and insecurity incident to it, in an unfunded state, renders it a mere commodity, and a precarious one. As such, being only an object of occasional and particular speculation, all the money applied to it is so much diverted from the more useful channels of circulation, so that, in fact, one serious inconvenience of an unfunded debt is, that it contributes to the scarcity of money.

"This distinction is of the greatest moment. Shall the public debt, by a provision for it on true principles, be rendered a substitute for money; or by being left as it is, or by being provided for in such a manner as will wound those principles, and destroy confidence, shall it be suffered to continue as it is, a pernicious drain of our cash from the channels of productive industry?

"The effect which the funding of the public debt, on right

principles, would have upon landed property, is one of the circumstances which has been least averted to, though it deserves the most particular attention. The present depreciated state of that specie of property is a serious calamity. The value of cultivated lands, in most of the States, has fallen, since the Revolution, from twenty-five to fifty percent. This decrease in the value of lands, ought, in a great measure, to be attributed to the scarcity of money; consequently, whatever produces an augmentation of the moneyed capital of the country, must have a proportional effect in raising that value. The beneficial tendency of a funded debt, in this respect, has been manifested by the most decisive experience in Great Britain."

Hamilton faced the same task we are facing today. He took the worthless, depreciated government paper of the most backward States and transformed it into valuable credit. This worked a steady appreciation that soon wiped out all depreciation. Jefferson was in Paris those years trying to borrow money for the confederation. He knew the desperate state of our public credit, he knew what 8% government paper meant. Under date of August 3, 1788, he wrote John Jay: "News of the accession of nine States to the new form of federal government has been received here about a week. I have the honor to congratulate you sincerely on this event. Of its effects at home, you are in the best situation to judge. On this side of the Atlantic, it is considered as a very wise reformation. In consequence of this, speculations are already begun here, to purchase up our domestic debt. Indeed, I suspect that orders may have been previously lodged in America to do this, as soon as the new constitution was accepted effectually."

Hamilton recognized the new asset, the right to tax all the citizens of America, and in this way establish public confidence and credit. The only thing we lack to accomplish the same result of vitalizing this dormant asset, is a like constitution based on a world citizenship; this will enable us to transform our war debts into world credits.

APOSTLES OF WORLD UNITY

XXX.—HENDRIK CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN

by

HELEN HENDRICKS

EVERY great movement has had its pioneers. Whether toward forest primeval or toward regions yet in the ideal, some souls a little more wide awake than the rest of mankind, a little more daring, whose eyes can see beyond horizons and whose courage is equal to lonely quests, are always moving ahead to blaze trails. So will it be in the annals of world unity. When dawns the age, as enlightened spiritually as it is energetic physically, that shall look out upon a world brotherhood of men united for peace, for art, for science, for industry, for spiritual attainment, there will be found written among the pioneers the name of Hendrik Christian Andersen. That name, not well enough known today, belongs to a man who, coming in infancy from the land of the Vikings of that sturdy stock of pioneers, to grow up among the descendants of the Puritans in the land of ideals and freedom, unites in himself the hardihood and daring of his Norwegian ancestors, and the fresh zeal and free spirit of America. And yet no nation is big enough to hold him. Deeply loyal though he is to the land of his birth and to the land of his citizenship, he has gone beyond both to become in a most tangible way—a World Citizen.

Visions belong to the spiritual-minded: those patriotic souls who are able to take glimpses over the rim of material things; and world affairs belong to the practical-minded who understand the cunning of men and who know their way about halls of diplomacy to the seats of the mighty. Yet Mr. Andersen has brought spiritual vision into the realm of the practical, and set material things upon the plane of the spirit. Actuated by a great ideal, he has toiled early

and late to put into visible form a world plan for the promotion of the brotherhood of men: focused in an International City.

It is not in halls of diplomacy, not in courts of royalty, not in seats of learning, although he knows all these well, that Mr. Andersen has done his pioneer work, but in a sculptor's studio. There, his hands ever busy with the clay, modeling life not in its idiosyncrasies but in its universal aspects, he saw not the clay, plaster, marble or bronze, before him, but the life of the world, the life of the ages. With an artist's depth of feeling he became aware of a world need. With a pioneer's courage and daring he asked himself what he could do about it. To the answer of that question Mr. Andersen has given the best years of his life.

The germ of the idea came to him in childhood. Like many a young American brought from older countries, the boy found himself growing up amid a seething mixture of nationalities in the most crowded quarters of an American city, while just around the corner were spacious orderliness and luxurious ease in the homes of Puritanical Americans. Where was the peace and harmony of this vaunted land of freedom? He saw about him conflict, greed, oppression, jealousy. Force of circumstances drove him hard against the facts of life, and its work-a-day experiences passed over him not in vain. He felt the hardness of the world, the cruelty of the petty divisions by which men cut themselves off from one another. Nor did school show him a way out. The very school books seemed to him to picture more evidences of this race rivalry, nation pitted against nation in warfare, glory measured by partisanship instead of valor. And his childish mind kept questioning why—why?

Through the years of hard physical labor the boy was far from idle mentally. Not only did he learn how to work but he learned how to think. He began to read books on his own account. His was a mind content with no surface glimmerings, that sought the depths of a subject and, without frills, steeped itself in fundamentals, thus laying foundations broad enough to bear the superstructure of a man's best thought. He might have chosen any one of several vocations. His love for humanity and his reverence for the human body might have led him to be a doctor. His thoughtfulness

even from boyhood on deep subjects pointed toward philosophy and scholarly attainments. His power of initiative together with an iron will and the ability to read human nature and get on well with people, would have been assets in any business. Yet he chose what was for him a synthesis of all these—the career of an artist.

As studio boy and art student in Boston, he began the technical studies which took him later to Paris and to Rome. Drawing, painting, modeling, learning anatomy, he studied periods, countries, masters, seeking not surface effects, not tricks of technique, but divining motives, following processes of reasoning, peering through the works into the souls of men and of nations, while ever faster, ever larger, fuller, came crowding to his brain ideas to be expressed. His was the power. By a turn of the hand he might have had the world's acclaim and reaped a harvest of riches. A little catering to popular tastes, a few charming little works to be sold here and there, some well-chosen pupils who were willing and eager to pay him well—and it was done. But this man sought not the world's acclaim. This man was willing to forego riches for the sake of his vision. Pushing onward, ever onward, copying no one, making sculpture the language of his soul, he held himself at his task, turning not aside for popularity. The ideal that had come to him in boyhood must somehow be realized, defined, put into tangible shape.

It was while he was at work upon a "Fountain of Life" that there came to him the idea of making real his vision of world brotherhood in an International City. He says in his book: "The idea of this center grew gradually, and at first, very modestly, perhaps by inspiration." The Fountain, circular in form to express the cycles of life, "Evening," "Morning," "Day," and "Night," in sculptured family groups of men, women, children, in representative postures, was the symbol of man's primary physical need—water. But beyond the physical, lay man's spiritual need; and beyond the family stood the nations, yet to be brought together in a family group. As the sculptor worked, he saw stretching beyond his Fountain a beautiful city, meeting-place of the nations, fountain of spiritual supply for the whole world. Such a city would be (to

use his own words) "like a world heart through which the highest human efforts would flow, be purified, and return to nourish."

Dreams are nebulous things which may cloud the sky of the dreamer unless precipitated in concrete form. But this dreamer was used to seeing the ideas of his brain come true in clay, marble, or bronze. He had learned the technique of making the ideal real. As he studied his idea, his mind traveled up and down over the earth and through the pages of history, searching out the thought of men as revealed in their monuments, in their planning of cities, seeking precedents in the large centers, noting trends. The aid of others was enlisted, many minds utilized: those who knew international affairs, those who understood world movements. Research workers were employed to trace the history of civilization through the growth of building. Architects were set to work—and the dream became a plan in black and white, practical, definite, detailed, with careful explanations and exquisite drawings. The whole was done into a book, in which the historical part, noting outstanding achievements in all countries through the ages, showed how increasingly the idea of unity and consolidation had grown until the state of world progress seemed to point to the building of a World Center of Communication.

The book, a work of art in itself, was sent to all the rulers of the world, to all the important libraries, and to individuals who by their money, their interest or their talent, might make possible the building of such a city. Interest was aroused, conferences held, tracts of land in various countries suggested, or offered, as advantageous sites.

In a conference held, by invitation of the French government, in the Sorbonne in Paris, Mr. Paul Adam said: "Nothing has been omitted: a palace for theoretical sciences, an international bank, libraries, an institute of sociological sciences, institutes consecrated to law, agriculture, medicine and surgery, and the Sorbonne of the religious ideas, will raise their magnificent facades upon the Place des Congrès, a circular space which the Tower of Progress will dominate. In this Tower the universally useful International Associations can assemble. From its summit wireless telegraphy will

radiate thought over the planet. In the basement, a complete printing establishment will facilitate the immediate means for representatives of the press to seize the discourses of scholars, professors, laureates and men and women devoted to education, and to spread throughout the world the exact news of experimental facts and creative ideas." He adds: "Evidently, if the most illustrious men of all nations, strong with the prestige acquired through their learning, meet there and express their opinion, opportunely, who will not listen, respectful of their counsel? Therefore in such a center international justice could truly be born, and could by the simplest manifestations, impose itself upon the leading classes, and then upon the multitudes."

This was in the winter before the War. Who could foresee that the need of just such a project was to be demonstrated within a few months by the negative process of violence and destructiveness in a disjointed world at cross purposes? As nation after nation became involved in the conflict, a halt was called on all progressive movements toward world unity and peace. Terrible as was the War, it may have taught lessons that could be learned in no other way. It may even have hastened the coming of world unity. Only the future can tell.

Twelve years have passed. The world has had time to think things over. Some progress has been made. A League of Nations has been born. A Kellogg Peace Pact has outlawed war. Of necessity the nations are joining together to save their own souls. What is the next step if not to make of that joining together a concrete reality, to embody it in a city of beauty, of world brotherhood, of progress, that would make the souls of the nations worth saving?

HOW ORIENT AND OCCIDENT CAN BE CORRELATED

by

TARAKNATH DAS
Author of "India in World Politics," etc.

I

A CHINESE proverb says: "If one part of the people is backward, the progress of the whole world is necessarily handicapped, just as when one arm is paralyzed the whole body becomes useless." Modern economists are justified in asserting that poverty of one nation cannot be a boon to prosperous nations, because such a condition is bound to lead to economic depression even for the prosperous. To be sure, a nation can be progressive in spite of retarding influences of backward nations; but it is also certain that on many occasions progressive civilizations have been destroyed by the pressure of barbarian invasions. There is no doubt that at the present time the best of world civilizations are threatened due to the prevailing spirit of conflict. Can we remove the root causes of racial, religious, economic and political conflicts? It is only possible, if at least a powerful and well-organized minority of humanity accepts the doctrine that efforts wasted in conflicts are not for progress and therefore they should devise means for cooperation among nations of the world, especially between the East and the West, so that they will be able to contribute their full share to bring about a better world order.

Before discussing the question "how the Orient and the Occident can be correlated" one should have the full comprehension of the vital necessity of cooperation between the East and the West. It is also desirable to fully grasp the obstacles which lie in the way of better understanding between the Orient and the Occident. If the "Coming World Order" is to embrace humanity as a whole,

then it is imperative that no considerable section of human society can be ignored. Any social or political order based upon sectionalism is bound to bring about discord and misunderstanding, dividing the peoples into hostile camps, thus preventing the possibility of fulfilling the ideal of world unity.

One of the major factors of the present-day world discord or chaos is the constant and chronic state of conflict between the Occident and the Orient, or in other words conflict among the peoples of the Occident, desirous of securing control over the Orient. Unless this spirit of active or dormant conflict can be stamped out there cannot be any real peace, nor can there be any genuine incentive for a new world order, where interest of humanity will supercede all minor interests. Therefore cooperation between the Orient and the Occident is far more important than the programs of Pan-Europa, Pan-America, Pan-Asia or the so-called League of Nations.

II

If there is to be genuine cooperation between the East and the West, the dominant West will have to follow such courses as will remove the existing causes of racial, religious, economic and political conflicts. The West will have to give up its unfounded conception of "superiority of the white man."

Unfortunately many of the modern western historians are responsible for spreading the notion of racial superiority of the western people. There are not many western historians who emphasize the fact that the people of Egypt, Arabia, Persia, India and China are in no way inferior to the western people; because these peoples have contributed considerably to the progress of world civilization. However it is a very common practice among western historians to praise western conquerors and "empire-builders" who committed all forms of dishonesty, such as forgery, bribery and fomenting civil wars, who imposed foreign rule over the peoples of Egypt, Morocco and other parts of the Orient, who plundered the people of India and fought Opium Wars in China for profit.

It will not be out of place to mention some of the nonsense which is being taught in the West as historical truth. Western his-

torians speak of "Oriental despotism," as if it is something peculiarly Oriental, whereas it is a historical fact that despotism has prevailed in the West for centuries even under the sanction of "divine rights of Kings," "the right of legitimacy," etc.; and it is being practised by the western rulers upon their subjects in the Orient. It is generally taught that the western people are peace-loving and champions of law and order; whereas the people of the Orient are treacherous, blood-thirsty and prefer to live in chaos. It is an interesting fact that most of the western historians generalize about the Orient and compare the condition of the West of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with those of the Orient of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But the fact remains that if we take into consideration the number of wars that have been fought within a certain area inhabited by a certain number of population, we find that the western people have fought more wars and brought about greater destruction of life and property than any other people in the world. To be concrete let us compare the history of India with that of Europe. India is as large as all Europe except Russia; and I venture to say that India under Hindu or Muslim rule was more peaceful than the European people during the same period. It is also a fact that to justify domination of the peoples of the Orient by the western people, historians and statesmen talk about the need of teaching self-government to the people of the Orient; but the truth is that ideals and practice of self-government—such as the village community system—existed in the Orient much earlier than the period when it developed in the West. The history of China and India demonstrates this fact beyond dispute.

It is often argued that unless the people of the West were superior to those of the East, the latter could not have been conquered by the former. Because one nation succeeds in conquering or enslaving another, does not prove the superiority of the conquerors. The Romans conquered the Greeks, but none will be so bold as to assert that the ancient Greeks were inferior to the ancient Romans. The Romans were crushed by barbarian invaders and this did not prove that the Roman civilization was inferior. Tartars conquered the Chinese, but Tartars were not superior to the Chinese.

For centuries the Turks dominated a large section of the European people, this did not prove cultural superiority of the Turks over their conquered subjects. Political domination of the Orient by the Western Powers is a passing phase of the history of the rise and fall of nations. In fact the twentieth century has opened the era of reassertion of the Orient politically; and it is only a question of time when the Orient will recover her independence. Until this is achieved the feeling of racial superiority among the western people will not disappear.

III

For many centuries, religious fanatics as well as religious leaders of the West have spread the notion that Christianity is the only religion which gives hope for salvation of man; and hundreds of millions of the Orientals who do not profess Christianity are heathens and therefore looked upon with contempt or pity. The attitude of religious intolerance was one of the causes of the Crusades. As long as this feeling dominates, there is not much hope for the spread of real fellow-feeling between the people of the East and the West.

Religious fanaticism and opposition between various sects of Christianity, in the past, caused hundreds of wars and most barbarous forms of persecutions of millions. It is a fact that even today Catholics are in many ways discriminated against in Protestant countries, and the fate of the Protestants in Catholic countries is not so bright. The Jews are unjustly discriminated against in all western lands. This being the case the attitude of average dominant white men is that non-Christian heathens should not be given equal consideration. This spirit of religious conflict plays an important part in developing a spirit of aversion and makes it difficult to have coordination between the East and the West. This obstacle can be removed through the spread of such knowledge as will lead to genuine appreciation of truth in all religions.

The West will have to make an effort to understand the true spirit of Christianity which originated in the Orient. It will have to appreciate the great truths in other religions—all of which are contributions of the East. It will have to revise the standard of

morality in the fields of international politics and economics. In fact the spirit of education in the West must be revised, so that there will be ample opportunity for spreading truth about the East in an unbiased fashion.

IV

For centuries western statesmen and international jurists sanctioned, approved and advocated the conquest of countries of the Orient. The people of the Orient "see in the history of the West during the last five hundred years or more constant denial in conduct of the theory that lands should be preserved for the use of those who happen to live in them. It appears to the man in the East that the Westerner has never hesitated an instant to dispossess the natives of any land he has wanted for his own use. If he has not wholly driven out the natives or exterminated them, he has enslaved them as far as possible and made them serve him. The theory that he derives from the European's conduct as pictured in his history of expansion is that the only right is might. Nothing but force seems to count in the determining of the European's relations to the other peoples."[1]

Western people in general, while wishing to enjoy special privileges such as "extra-territorial jurisdiction" and equal opportunity for trade and commerce in Oriental countries, are determined to exclude Orientals from Australia, America and even Africa. Under the pretext of "white Australia," the Orientals are barred from migrating into that continent which is today practically uninhabited and which can only be developed by the people of the Orient. For economic and political reasons, Orientals are excluded from North America; and this spirit of discrimination is being spread in some of the South American countries. In Africa, the western people, especially the British, think in terms of preserving the "black continent" for "white supremacy" at any cost. While exploiting the Negroes as virtual slaves these white masters use the theory of "trusteeship of the negroes by white men" and exclude Asiatics, especially Indians, from migrating into South Africa and

1—Thompson, Warren S. : Danger Spots in World Population. New York. Alfred A. Knopf. page 164.

East Africa, the regions that have been developed by Indian labor and investment of Indian capital.

Any economic system, that upholds the policy of exploiting one class by another, foments "class war" and checks cooperation. Similarly economic exploitation of one people by another is bound to produce international conflict. Unjust discrimination of the people of the East socially, economically and politically has created a spirit of deep-seated resentment against the West, which is dangerous. The Orient has been the victim of merciless exploitation by Western Powers; and now the dominant West refuses to accord equal opportunity to the millions of the East. Unless this policy is abandoned, there can never arise a genuine spirit of coordination between the East and the West.

V

Double standard of international morality on the part of the enlightened West is a serious obstacle on the road to better understanding between the peoples of the East and the West. No western scholar, or western missionary will ever advocate that the Turks, the Japanese, the Chinese, the Indians or Egyptians have any right to rule over any of the peoples of the West; but it is a very rare thing to find a western scholar or missionary who will not justify the status quo of the world situation and condemn the attempt for securing political freedom by the oppressed people of the Orient.

When the nurse Edith Cavel tried to aid Belgians and the late Cardinal Mercier raised his voice for the freedom of the Belgian people, when Tolstoi championed the cause of the oppressed in Russia, the intelligentsia and religious organizations (Protestants as well as Catholics) admired their efforts. But we did not hear any protest from the Christian religious orders against the Amritasar Massacre. There were not many in the West who protested against the imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi, whose life's ideals and actions are in no way inferior to a Tolstoi or a Mercier or a prophet of the past. We have not heard of any protest from any religious quarters against imprisoning no less than 65,000 non-violent non-cooperators and killing hundreds and wounding thousands and ill-treating Indian women by the British police during

the recent Civil Disobedience movement. But we know that when an American missionary in India felt impelled by his sense of justice to show sympathy and extended moral support to the cause of Indian freedom, he was disowned by his own missionary society and ordered out of India by the British authorities. This happened in the case of Rev. Mr. Keithan, an American missionary who was stationed in the Madura district in the province of Madras, India. Mr. Keithan was known to be sympathetic with Indian aspirations, and Mahatma Gandhi's doctrine of Non-Violent Non-Cooperation. He thought that Indians should develop their own industries and therefore he wore *khaddar* or Indian home-spun. He was asked by the English Quaker, Mr. Reynolds, who is a close friend of Mahatma Gandhi, to put him up for the night. He did so; there were some demonstrations by Indian nationalists in Mr. Reynold's honor. Working from this fact, the secret police denounced Mr. Keithan as a sympathizer with the nationalist cause. Mr. J. F. Hall, the British official in charge of the Madura district, requested Mr. Keithan to leave India; he requested his mission to admit publicly that the expulsion was justified, bringing this specially to the notice of Indian Christians. Mr. Hall wrote a letter stating his reasons for these requests. In this letter he laid down this surprising rule:—

"It is the duty, not only of every servant of the Government, but also of every person, whatever his nationality may be, who belongs to one of those non-official organizations which are permitted by the Government to participate in any educational, medical or other public work in India to show disapproval of the nationalist movement. He is expected to take every opportunity of promoting among those with whom he is brought into contact, by reasons of the activities of the organization to which he belongs, loyalty to the Government, and of countering and exposing by informal talks and discussions the lies, misrepresentations and economic fallacies which are used in support of the Congress programme. The Government expects this service to be faithfully performed."[2]

Mr. Keithan and the mission to which he belonged complied with Mr. Hall's requests. There is no doubt that the American

2—The Spectator (London) November 15, 1930, pages 716-717.

Missionary Society by complying with Mr. Hall's requests, agreed to serve the imperial interests of Britain and not the cause of freedom. To be sure, one does not expect that an American missionary should act as an anti-British agitator, but at the same time he should uphold the cause of human freedom and righteousness. It is also expected that on moral grounds a missionary society should not agree "to show disapproval of the nationalist movement." Because Christian missionaries often side with western imperialists against the cause of human liberty and justice, they are regarded in the Orient as "advanced guards of western imperialism." This makes cultural cooperation between the East and West somewhat difficult.

A little over one hundred years ago, the Christians in Britain raised funds and aided the Greeks in every possible way to overthrow Turkish rule. Americans aided Cubans to overthrow Spanish rule. The British engineered, during the World War, the Arab Revolt against Turkey and spent hundreds of millions of pounds sterling for its success, under the direction of Col. Lawrence. The cause of freedom of the peoples of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Finland and other nations (such as Ireland) was promoted by the support of Americans. But when the people of India try to attain their freedom, they do not find any great amount of sympathy from the western world. This is due to the fact, that the people of India are "Asiatics" and freedom of India might mean loss of power of British Imperialism and thus loss of prestige of the supposed racial superiority of white men.

Many statesmen of the West, in their official utterances and statements, talk about the need of world peace and express abhorrance of war. They even cheerfully accept some formula for "outlawry of War" with certain interesting reservations which allow them to wage wars to preserve their empire, to uphold their national security and national interests. However, these apostles of peace approve with their silence, massacres of innocent people, to suppress discontent against the lawless laws of a land kept under subjection. They send their powerful fleet to demand unqualified submission of subject people, who are trying to assert their national independence. They bomb from aeroplanes unarmed and oppressed

people and raze defenceless villages and towns and drive armoured cars to crush unarmed people and to strike terror in the minds of the discontented masses. These things they do to protect their imperial and national interests. These acts of violence are calmly tolerated by the people of the West; and such organizations as the League of Nations, whose prime object is to further the cause of world peace, do not even dare to discuss these happenings! Unless the Western Powers, ruling over the peoples of the Orient, are willing to give up their colonies and dependencies and acknowledge freedom of the oppressed peoples, there is no possibility of lasting peace with justice and liberty and better understanding between the East and the West.

VI

Owing to the aggressive policy of some western nations, some Oriental teachers think that the people of the West lack idealism. Owing to submissiveness of the Oriental peoples, some Occidental savants think that there is nothing worthwhile in the civilizations of the Oriental countries and the West must bear the responsibility of civilizing the East. The extreme views that the people of the Orient are submissive, imaginative and idealistic and thus lacking practical sense, while the western people are purely materialistic—are not only wrong but serious obstacles to their better understanding. The truth is that materialism, as evidenced by its material prosperity, is by no means the only, ultimate and cherished ideal of the West. There is the spirit of social service which has always played a dominating part in the progressive and vigorous life of the West. The ideal of service to humanity, as exhibited in the West is genuine; and it is manifest through activities which are not limited in the West but to all parts of the world. Behind the progress of science in the West, one finds tremendous idealism and martyrdom to the ideal of human welfare. The East must recognize this fact.

Kipling and others have spread the false notion of exclusive superiority of the Western people and inherent inferiority of the Orientals. This has done considerable harm by rousing deep-seated antagonism. The fact is that the people of the Orient are neither

barbarians nor inferior to the people of the West. Even in matters of scientific and material progress the Orient has contributed its share in the past; and the new Orient is showing marvelous adaptability. It is necessary for the West to recognize that much of the present-day western civilization has its origin in the Orient and contributions of the people of the Orient have enriched the world at large. Without such recognition of the best of the East and the West, there is no possiblily of coordination between the East and the West.

VII

The East must learn progressive and scientific methods from the West. The West must also accept those things from the culture of the Oriental people which may be of great value. If there is going to be real cooperation and understanding between the East and the West, then it is imperative that exclusiveness in outlook of life should be abandoned.

There is every evidence for all those who wish to see, that the so-called "unchanging East" is less conservative than is generally believed. Possibly changes in the Eastern countries during the last half a century have come in greater rapidity than anything that is known in the Western countries. It may not be an overstatement of fact if one says that modernization of the Oriental countries is progressing faster than an average Westerner has any idea of. Modernization of Japan, Turkey, India, China, Persia, even Afghanistan means nothing less than adaptation and assimilation of those things of the Western culture which are essential for economic and political progress.

Hundreds of millions of peoples of the Orient are affected by European culture through a process of indirection. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, a section of the upper class of the Orient —the ruling class as well as the intelligentsia—has made sincere and conscious efforts in learning all that is best in the Occident and applying certain essentials of western institutions and cultural assets to those of their own. Let this be frankly admitted: that Oriental statesmen did not always think that Western methods of life were the best; but they were forced to acknowledge the superiority of

Western arms and political power. They wished to accept such things as would augment their capacity for national defense. While studying this phase of the question deeply, they were faced with the need of bringing about changes in the national life, in education, industry, government and even the mode of living. This fact is well established in the history of the westernization of Japan, Turkey, even India, Persia and China. Statesmen of these countries wished to develop the most effective instruments for national defense in the form of modern armies, navies, etc. This could not have been accomplished without bringing about radical changes in industrial, economic and social life. In fact these changes have brought about far-reaching social revolution in these lands. In this connection, it may be emphasized that ideas, ideals and mode of living of the upper class or those who have power, always act and react upon those who are below them; and this is true in the Orient as well as in the Occident. When a revolutionary idea is championed by the ruling class, it quickly and as if unconsciously pervades all the stratas of society. Possibly this is one of the causes of the fast changes in the Orient where the most far-sighted national leaders are advocating the policy of adopting the best from Western society. There is a conscious effort in the Orient to assimilate certain things of the West. This affords an excellent opportunity for further coordination between the East and the West; and the dominant West will have to do its share in this field.

There are racial, religious, economic and political causes for existing disharmony between the East and the West. Coordination of the East and the West cannot be brought about unless these causes are removed. It is my belief that the progress of reconciliation will be in proportion to actual cultural cooperation between the East and the West. Therefore one must inquire into the possible means for promoting cultural cooperation among nations and make proper application of various measures which will at least remove misunderstanding based upon prejudice, false notions and the spirit of domination.

The ninth contribution to a symposium on "The Coming World Order," edited by Archie M. Palmer.

LEAVES OF THE GREATER BIBLE

Compiled and Edited by

WILLIAM NORMAN GUTHRIE
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PART XII

VEDIC PRAYERS (*Continued*)

On that radiant power, which is the very God, as I ought,
(Called the light of the effulgent Sun),
I meditate, ruled by light's mystery
For the high will of sublime thought.

I myself unseeing
Am a ray made manifest,
Of that best
And inmost being.

There is one only deity
And the supreme soul is He!
Rightly involved as sun
Yea, the only life of all in union!

Lo, the evermore, the one,
The wise in divers ways
Will call by divers names;
And holy poets with beauteous praise,
Bless the many-winged and beauteous,
At the glory infinitely manifold—
Yet is He only one!

HYMN TO VARUNA BY SONNAHESPA

However sorely as men, O mighty God,

We offend day by day against Thy righteous will,
Give us not over to the wrath of our enemies
That they come upon us and utterly destroy us!

Even as the chariot driver releases his steeds
So we would with our lays release Thy gracious mercy.
Lo, my foes fly away to further the good,
And friends fly hither and birds unto their nest!
When shall we, O Varuna, summon to our aid Thy hero,
The often longed-for lord, to bring grace and welfare to all?

Varuna, O Thou who holdest the reins in our doing,
Thou has taken thine abode, a wise lord, in our homes.
Thou beholdest all things here below,
The known, the unknown, what is doing and left undone!
O evermore great God,
With Thy mighty spirit make plain for us
Straight paths to the good, and cause us to live out our lives.

Forth, O my lays, as the cattle go forth to their pasture
Forth and explore the glorious ways of your God,
Come, let us hail Him, together, with songs, again, for behold
He cometh riding his chariot, over the earth!

Hearken, O Varuna, to this mine earnest cry!
Be gracious to them who beg for Thine help at their need,
O All-wise lord of all in heaven and earth,
Give ear to my prayer as I draw nigh to Thee,
Remove from us the fetters that bind the spirit and also
The bonds of the soul with the bonds of the body!
That we may live freely henceforth for Thee.

Vedic Litany of Vashsitah to Varuna

Let me not descend, O King Varuna
To the lowly house of Earth;
O mighty God, have mercy, have mercy!

Lo, I go hither and thither, trembling
Even as a wine skin swollen with the wind,

O mighty God, have mercy, have mercy!

O thou bright and pure God, I have gone, woe's me,
Astray from want of insight clear,
O mighty God, have mercy, have mercy!

Thirst hath o'ertaken thy worshipper,
Even as I stood in the midst of running waters—
O mighty God, have mercy, have mercy!

What offense soever we creatures have committed
Against the gods of heaven, in thoughtlessness we sinned,
O mighty God, have mercy, have mercy!

* * * *

O Self-sustainer Varuna, I have gone
To Thy vast temple with a thousand gates,—
He Thy true friend and nighest unto Thee
Hath best beloved offended against Thee!
Let us not guilty, reap the harvest of our sin!
O All-wise God, grant protection
Who offereth his earnest prayer unto Thee.

Peace Chant from the Rig Veda

(*From the Paths of Devotion*)

Thou art my Mother, Thou art my Father,
Thou art my familiar friend, Thou art my companion,
Thou art my learning, Thou art my wealth,
Thou art my all in all, Thou art my Lord.

By whose grace the dumb is eloquent,
The lame crosses the mountain,
I bow down to my Lord, that supreme in bliss.

He who bringeth light to one blinded by the night of ignorance
And openeth the eyes of the spirit
We bow down in reverence to that Guru, the spiritual teacher.

Eternal, pure, unlimited,
Formless, spotless,

Omniscient, Blissful.

We bow down to the supreme Lord in the form of Guru
He is the eternal among all eternals
The conscious within and without all conscious beings
Who though evermore One fulfilleth the manifold desires of many.

Mother do thou protect them
Overwhelmed, overpowered by the misery of the world,
Who made refuge in Thee, the destroyer of all evil
I bow me down to Thee!

* * * *

O light of the universe
From the unreal
Lead me to the real,
(Lead, lead me on!)
Up out of darkness
O lead me into the light
(Lead, lead me on!)

And up from death
Lead on to immortality!
(Lead, lead me on!)

The End

THE BIBLE OF MANKIND

by

GRACE H. TURNBULL
Author of "Tongues of Fire"

I WONDER how many of the thousands who have revelled in "The Green Pastures" and joined in the gently ironic laughter which this astonishingly faithful study of the religious psychology of the colored race evokes; how many of those who have smiled condescendingly over that artless vision of a negro Adam, a negro Noah, a colored Deity, a heaven peopled with Nubian angelic hosts, have ever thought it odd that the Adam of the white man is always pictured white, that his angels are always fair, and that even his God wears his own image?

Are you familiar with that poem of Rupert Brooke's called "Heaven"?

Fish (fly-replete, in depth of June,
Dawdling away their wat'ry noon)
Ponder deep wisdom, dark or clear,
Each secret fishy hope or fear . . . . . .
Not here the appointed End, not here!
But somewhere beyond Space and Time,
Is wetter water, slimier slime!
And there (they trust) there swimmeth One
Who swam ere rivers were begun,
Immense, of fishy form and mind,
Squamous, omnipotent and kind;
And under that Almighty Fin
The littlest fish may enter in . . . . . .
And in that Heaven of all their wish,
There shall be no more land, say fish.

The fish, like the African, like the Caucasian, naively sees only through its own eyes.

However, for those of us who wish to escape the imprisonment of this intensely egocentric mode of thought, this lamentably small and smug fashion of visualizing the spiritual world, the way lies invitingly open. We may look, if we will, through the eyes of the nations of all ages, of all the sages of all colors, creeds and categories at the things invisible we seek.

The Upanishads of the early Indian Vedas the Hindus also thought "revealed;" in their concepts of God they reach a sublimity unparalled in the long advance of man. There are Sumerian and Assyrian psalms wrung from a depth of human suffering as poignant as that which pulses in the Psalms of David; indeed, of many of them the Psalms of David seem but a later echo. There are definitions of the Deity in the Egyptian hymns, in the works of the Greek philosophers, and in that Song Divine, the Bhagavadgita, beside which our anthropomorphic notions of God seem childishly inadequate. There are prayers offered up by the so-called *pagan* peoples as beautiful as any breathed by Christian, Jew or Muhammadan. There are sages, saints and prophets calling from many a mountain peak outside our peculiar Holy Land,—Plato, Plotinus and Lao-Tzu carry us to the gates of Heaven itself. They have each been visited by the cloven tongues of fire; they were all filled with the Holy Ghost. To all of them I ask you to lend an ear.

In a world bewilderingly flooded with torrents of ephemeral productions among which we flounder dazed, unable to taste them all, yet too powerless to make a choice between them, not only shall we be greatly refreshed and *re*created if we concentrate upon the most inspired seers of all time; but surely we shall attain to a less pitiably partial picture of the world of spirit, a fuller realization of its great animating Force or "Over-Soul," as well as to a kindlier, more liberal habit of thought toward our fellow races of mankind. Perhaps we shall even make our own that ancient prayer of Aristophanes: "From the murmur and subtlety of suspicion with which we vex one another give us rest. Make a new beginning, and mingle again the kindred of the nations in the alchemy of Love, and with some finer essence of forbearance temper our mind!"

ECONOMIC WORLD WELFARE

V. THE OPEN DOOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

by

AMOS STOTE
Publicist, Paris, France

THOSE of us who have traveled in many countries with our eyes open to the variations which exist in trade operations, variations which frequently seem so diametrically opposed to the business practices with which we are familiar, have had an opportunity to get a small insight into the difficulties which must exist in connection with any effort made to give the world a uniform system of business procedure which would be universally practical, and acceptable.

Such is the task of the International Chamber of Commerce. One can imagine the possibility of getting a Chinaman and a Greek to agree as to commercial practices relating to international trade. One might even undertake to bring an Englishman or an American into the conference and still hope to have harmony. But add an Esthonian, a Swede, a Spaniard, a Norwegian and a Japanese to the group and still try to get them all to see eye to eye on a vast number of problems having to do with finance, transportation, credits and collections, bills of lading, customs tariffs, for a beginning, and you will find your efforts not lacking in difficulties.

Yet that is but a fraction of the task of the International Chamber of Commerce, and also but a fraction of its accomplishment. For it has brought together not only many nationals of all the countries named but those of a total of twenty-nine countries. Oriental and Occidental, European and American, monarchies and republics are represented, industrial countries and agricultural, new nations

and old are not merely represented in the International Chamber of Commerce but their representatives are working together. While but 29 countries have so far achieved national organizations sufficiently representative of the commercial interests of their countries as a whole to admit them to full membership in the Chamber, there are on the membership rolls business organizations and individual business leaders of 46 countries.

At its Council Meetings, sitting elbow to elbow, are men who, a few years ago, were doing their umost to destroy each other and the governments and peoples of the countries they represent. Today they are thinking and working in terms of world welfare, supporting each other in efforts to promote human progress, treating their own countries as departments of a central organization comprising all the earth.

Race, religion, form of government, habits of living, habits of thinking, area, location, population, wealth; none of these conditions enter into the calculations of the International Chamber of Commerce when considering the acceptability of a country to join its organization.

The open door is definitely open to all nations which have associations composed of their own business men which are representative and which are prepared to do their part toward establishing the world on a foundation of economic harmony. In those countries which have not as yet joined forces with the International Chamber, business houses and individuals may still join and lend their more personal support to the great world movement, and receive the support which is derived from such an affiliation.

While race, religion and politics are no barriers to entrance into the membership of the International Chamber of Commerce, these subjects are wisely barred from its considerations. Aside from such historically troublesome and trouble-breeding topics, there are few questions which concern human welfare that are not, at some time, under review by the Chamber. It realizes that any causes having in any way to do with the common good are not too remote to have their influence over some phase of their activities. In fact much of the strength, and certainly much of the future standing of this

organization, has come from and will come from its appreciation of the complexities which must exist in international commercial intercourse.

The abstract and the concrete can not be torn apart without great harm being done to the fabric of trade which has had to grow increasingly scientific the more it has become international. Subjects having to do with moral obligations, with subtle interpretations of responsibilities, have their place in discussions of the most exact commercial nature. Just as there seems to be no end to ethical obligation so there seems to be no end to the interrelationship existing between principle and practice in trade.

It is this broad policy which has made so great an appeal to the highly specialized associations which have welcomed an opportunity to hold membership in the International Chamber of Commerce. Among the 959 organizations which have joined forces with the International Chamber it is safe to say there are to be found practically every type and variety of scientific, technical and trade association in existence. To look through the lists of delegates to one of the biennial Congresses of the Chamber is like looking at some registry of the world's authorities on almost every department of human activity.

Delegates to these Congresses come from all over the world and from all manner of occupations, from representatives of the Syndicate of Dry Vegetables to delegates from the Society of Economic and Financial Information; from those coming in the interests of a National Association for Economic Expansion to those coming from the Commercial Syndicate of Hops. An Art Group will have its special ambassadors, and so will a Syndicate of Boilermakers and Foundrymen. Bankers and Bakers, Miners and Traders, Statistical Societies and Industrial Institutes, are all represented.

It must of necessity be an open door organization which can attract such varied interests and make them feel that their specialized objectives will be served through such an affiliation. Within their own societies these men are absorbed with their own technical and individual problems, and they must be offered some tangible advantages if they are to be interested in a central international body.

And so they are. They are made aware of the fact that while certain problems seem to belong peculiarly to them, the solution to such problems frequently depends upon the solution of other problems belonging to industries or trades with which they have no contact, and no immediate common interests.

So they find that by joining hands with the many other organizations holding memberships in the International Chamber of Commerce they have their problems brought up along with all other problems of a like character, with resultant discussions and resolutions which piece together all the parts to the puzzle and make each take its proper place. They get the support of each other's associations, but, often more useful, they get the backing of other powerful societies which, except for membership in the International Chamber, would be denied them. They gain the aid of the entire world of business, of finance, industry, trade and transportation, and of all the departments of each.

It may be of small concern to the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco whether or not the International Chamber of Commerce concerns itself with sponsoring uniformity among European countries in the matter of changing to summer time. What has the San Francisco Chamber to do, or what possible interest can it have in, the job of correcting the time tables for trains and boats and stock exchanges and factories of a number of European nations so as to make time balance on their international books? Yet it knows that whatever makes for good business conditions in Europe will make for the better selling of California fruits in Europe.

Not a member of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce may be directly interested in the growing, canning or shipping of fruit, but they are interested in the prosperity of their state and in the money it has to spend. And it has a broader interest than that. It knows that even though it can trace no actual financial gain from such proceedings in Europe, the fact remains that one more effort has been made to give us a bit better world in which to live, that peace through understanding is a bit more secure, that the stability of the entire economic structure of the world has been given one more support. It realizes that nothing is unimportant which has to

do with smoothing out delays and misunderstandings between businesses and between nations.

One other service resulting from the open door policy of the International Chamber of Commerce needs to be mentioned. It is not a jealous institution. It does not require that the seeker after economic information be a member. While it does not wish to encourage the curious who could easily disrupt the work of an organization which has such a broad field to cover, it does not turn away those who come to it for help in the preparation of any document having to do with world progress.

The result is that students and teachers, bankers and lawyers, manufacturers and philosophers, government officials, journalists and editors have found the Headquarters offices of the International Chamber a fruitful source of information. Some economist wants to know all about the silver situation in China; another wishes to deal with the influence of the motor car on international travel and so requires data on the development of highways all over the world; then along comes somebody who is looking for facts dealing with the present status of commercial arbitration; and they all get results at Headquarters.

Before many years the International Chamber of Commerce will undoubtedly develop a special service for taking care of the increasing number of callers who come to it seeking information, for it realizes that many of these visitors will be aiding it in spreading abroad the gospel of world progress based on economic procedure. In the meantime it does what it can for all comers.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM: CAN IT BE SOLVED?

by

MELBERT B. CARY

Counsel for the Permanent Unemployment Relief Foundation

THE number and variety of plans proposed to relieve the present world wide depression seem to be without limit and, upon a brief analysis many are readily proven impracticable, showing ignorance of the basic principles of economics, finance, government, social science and the true relation between capital and labor.

They range all the way from two propositions by men of national repute, one, to have the government enter upon an extensive program of public works issuing bonds for five billions of dollars to pay for the same; the other, the bald statement that the whole difficulty is psychological and can be overcome in a night if everyone would only think so, and paraphrasing Coues' famous motto, keep repeating—there is no depression, we are prosperous.

There is no doubt that we are in the midst of the greatest period of business depression in the world's history, one that has lasted nearly two years and, as many competent judges think, the end is not yet.

The suffering resulting from this condition is too great to be estimated and too horrible to be dwelt upon at length. So great that it has been impossible up to the present time for governments, organizations, or individuals to adequately relieve it, much less to prevent its continuance or recurrence.

The situation is virtually unchanged after many months, the suffering continues; unemployment is as great as ever, on every side we are faced by starvation, misery, desperation, blasted hopes and ambitions, little children underfed and underclothed, with the outlook for the coming winter no better.

The immediate duty before us now is to find and adopt some plan to relieve the suffering due to unemployment. This is more important than to ascertain what may have been the original causes of this unusual depression, more important than the revival of business, more important than planning methods to overcome the world wide conditions, more important than passing uneconomical and unconstitutional laws to compel one class of citizens to assume the care of another class.

How have we attempted to meet this problem in the past eighteen months, and how have we succeeded?

In the first place, we did not wake up to a full understanding of the situation until the evils of unemployment were all around us and then we acted only in a hysterical, unscientific manner. No one had any reliable statistics or information regarding unemployment; neither the government, the welfare organizations or individuals. It was not until the evil was upon us and the suffering wide-spread, that the government and welfare organizations became aware of it and then it was not fully appreciated.

Finally, the President appointed an emergency committee and promised to speed public works to the utmost, which actions were followed in a short time by statements from the U. S. Department of Labor claiming that conditions already were rapidly improving. Things went on from bad to worse and the welfare organizations began to be aroused and then when the suffering was wide-spread and the bread lines lengthened and the free lodging houses were filled, charitable citizens hysterically organized committees and began collecting money on a large scale, to give to those who were suffering, or claimed to be suffering, from unemployment.

This continued for several months, the millions of money that had been collected was all disbursed and then citizens called mass meetings and insisted that the municipalities should furnish millions more to continue the work. This was refused and it became more difficult to collect money, but the suffering continued and the number of unemployed was not diminished.

All in all, it was an egregious failure to meet a most serious situation and the question that stares us in the face is—what shall

we do now? Is there any way of relieving this suffering that will be efficient and permanent, that will be scientific avoiding the evils of the dole and not compromising the self-respect of those who are unemployed?

There is one way in which this can be done, by a plan that is entirely new, never having been published before. If adopted, it will accomplish the purpose desired without the attendant evils and objections that surround all other methods. It can be put into operation at once on a small scale, can be developed at will so as to cover the entire country. It will require the best of business management and large amounts of money, just as the Federal Reserve Plan did, but one should reflect that the evils resulting from unemployment suffering are fully as injurious to the National Welfare as were the evils which the Federal Reserve Act was designed to overcome.

Being a comprehensive plan, a bare outline is all that can be given within the limits of this article, details and answers to any objection that may be raised can be reserved for the future.

Before stating this plan, it may be wise to say what it is not.

First: It is not claimed that it will prevent a recurrence of these cycles of business depression and consequent unemployment although it will help greatly in that direction.

These cycles are the result of so many different causes, international, psychological, governmental, economic, financial and business, that few intelligent men agree in regard to them and few claim to know how to prevent them.

Second: This plan has nothing to do with the international aspect and is not calculated to help other nations, but is simply for the relief of our own people suffering from unemployment.

Third: The plan is not political or institutional but will be operated on a strictly business basis and will be absolutely free from all political interference and also free from the inefficient institutionalism which is so commonly found in the management of welfare organizations, which are not under strict business control and supervision.

In order to set the plan clearly before the reader's mind it may

be best to first outline it briefly in its entirety showing how it will work when generally adopted and in wide operation although realizing that, like all great changes, it will have to begin in a restricted way, and against great opposition before it can prove itself of value.

Consider an incorporated Association not for profit, organized by a number of individuals chosen for their disinterested devotion to human welfare, their great knowledge and experience in business, economic and social affairs, which shall constitute the Board of Control, all serving without salary.

In connection with this, an arrangement whereby, in each State, there shall be a Commissioner and vice-Commissioner of welfare, chosen by a committee which in every State shall consist of:

The Chief Justice of the State,

The President of the State Chamber of Commerce,

The President of the largest bank in the State.

The foregoing shall also serve without salary, but shall be paid all necessary travelling expenses.

It will be evident to all that the choice of such a Committee will command the respect of the community, that their action will be entirely free from political bias, and their only effort will be to select the most competent persons for Commissioners.

The Commissioner of each State shall receive a salary, and shall be expected to give his entire time to the work. He shall hold office at the pleasure of the Board of Control who shall have, at all times, the right to dismiss him in which case the vice-Commissioner will succeed to his position and the above named State Committee of three shall be requested to choose a new vice-Commissioner.

In each State there shall be established a Headquarters for the unemployed under the control of the Commissioner for that State. This Headquarters to consist of homes in which unemployed can be sheltered and fed during their period of unemployment. In some cases a large tract of land could be acquired and small houses or bungalows erected where unemployed men with families could live. Also there should be comfortable barracks for the single men, and dormitories for the single women.

A community would thus be formed, a physician should be at hand, schools for the children and libraries should be maintained. All should be required to do what work could be found for them at Headquarters and an accurate account kept of everything that is furnished in the way of food and clothing. No charge would be made for rent. This plan would not savour of charity or the dole and would preserve the self respect of the members of the community.

It would be found that many after obtaining work and leaving Headquarters would begin to repay the amount that had been expended for them.

Admission to the Headquarters would in all cases be obtained through the Central Bureau of the Association which would also be the medium through which jobs would be obtained and assigned to the members of the Community.

Admission would be strictly confined to workers out of employment; charity cases and hospital cases would not be received but referred to the proper institutions. Neither would the Headquarters be open to those mendicants who are unwilling to work and who are not really desirous of employment. These are strictly vagrants and properly should be handled by the State.

The above cases should never be classed with the unemployed for this results in confusion and is an injustice to the unemployed and to the industries that are willing to contribute to a practical plan for helping their employees when there is no work to give them.

The foregoing is but a brief outline of the plan, stating its basic principles and anyone with experience in such matters can fill in the details.

Of course, objections will be numerous, one of the first will be that people will not be willing to leave the city and go to Headquarters. This, undoubtedly, will be the case in many instances but there will be plenty of others who will welcome the opportunity to gain shelter and livelihood on terms that do not humiliate them while they are awaiting a chance for employment.

All the heads of families with hungry wives and children at home, all the young men who are down but not yet out and who are sincerely willing to work, all the young women who have lost

their positions, have spent their last penny and who are going to bed hungry, will turn to the Headquarters as a haven of relief.

Others will object on the ground of expense, saying it will take a vast amount of money to establish and maintain a Headquarters as above outlined. True, it will take millions when the plan is in operation all over the country, but it will not take any more, if as much, money as is now hastily collected and unwisely dealt out like the dole in times of emergency.

The leaders of industry who are beginning to feel their responsibility in times like this would much prefer to subscribe to a practical scientific permanent plan than to be called upon by a citizen's committee to donate money, which shall be distributed indiscriminately by untrained persons to all who claim to be unemployed and in need of help. This is nothing more or less than the dole which today is dragging England down. We maintain similar headquarters for other purposes such as the public schools, is not the prevention of suffering from unemployment just as important to our civilization as the prevention of illiteracy among the children?

We maintain a vast system of hospitals for all who are mentally and physically ill; why should we not provide means for helping those who through no fault of their own are financially ill and unable to keep body and soul together except by swallowing their pride and accepting alms?

There is no doubt about raising the money, for those in control of industry will readily see that this plan is the only practical and scientific way of relieving the evils of unemployment.

The results would come as quickly as they did in the financial world after the passage of the Federal Reserve Act.

Begin now on a small scale if necessary and be ready for the unemployment crisis of next winter which many good judges say will be worse than the past.

THE STAGES OF NATIONALISM

by

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FIVE years ago Professor Carleton J. H. Hayes published the most penetrating analysis yet made of the functioning of modern nationalism, an analysis clean-cut, witty, and breathing the spirit of the fervent crusader against *l'infame*. More recently he undertook a study of the machinery whereby nationalistic zeal is inculcated in a great modern state, in *France, a Nation of Patriots*. For some time he has been conducting researches with his students on the history of nationalistic ideas. The fruits of this investigation are now available in *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism*.* Unlike his earlier volume, this book is not a functional study of the workings of the nationalistic spirit and its institutions, as a great popular social movement. It is rather the examination of nationalism as a body of doctrines, as a political philosophy, and the record of the successive stages of nationalist thought as revealed in the teachings of its great apostles, not in the practice of their followers. Readers of this magazine will be interested to know that many of the chapters were first put into shape for the World Unity Institute held at Hyannis, Massachusetts, in August, 1929.

Professor Hayes, like all critics of contemporary nationalism, has often been taken to task for giving insufficient attention to the high-minded and idealistic gospels of nationalism preached by pioneers like Mazzini. Granted the sordid actuality, defenders have said, there still remains an ideal nationalism, nowise incompatible with the utmost of international cooperation, which has burnt like a pure flame in the hearts of noble leaders. Professor Hayes here

*Carleton J. H. Hayes, *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism*. Richard R. Smith. viii, 327 pp. $3.50.

takes full account of such criticism, recognizing that nationalism has had many varieties, and that most of them have not been as dangerous and destructive as the reigning species. Yet having given the idealists their due, he hastens to point out that to the historian these varieties seem always to have followed each other in a certain typical order, and that the end term of this nationalist evolution or career has always been just the unlovely weed of the present. The evolution everywhere has been in the direction of a more and more intense nationalism, and of a nationalism which involves bigger wars, or at any rate greater preparedness for war. To be sure each of the successive schools of nationalistic thought has hoped that enduring peace might crown the attainment of its patriotic goals. Each has been optimistic, convinced that reason, or democracy, or liberty or national might, would put an end to war. And yet there has been the record of strife—the French Revolution, the Napoleonic struggles, the fighting for unification and self-determination, the Great War and its aftermath. "Is there something inevitable in the evolution of nationalism," Professor Hayes asks, "which advances its devotees ever faster toward war while they continue to talk about peace?"

We start with a state not strictly national, ruled despotically and inefficiently, pursuing mercantilist policies, and constantly prepared for war and frequently engaging in it. There arises the campaign for freedom, for democracy, for self-government. Civil war and international war follow. Some peoples have free national states and others yearn for them. The latter acquire them at any cost. The resulting struggles, together with attendant economic developments, give rise among successful peoples to pride in their achievements, to reliance upon force to obtain what they have gotten, and to faith in their ability to be both exemplars of national self-sufficiency and trustees for "backward" peoples. This process brings us back close to the point whence we set out. We end with states, now emphatically national and tending toward more or less veiled but efficient dictatorship, pursuing mercantilist policies and prepared constantly for war and engaging in it, or threatening to engage in it, frequently and on an ever greater scale.

"It seems a long way from Rousseau, Herder and Mazzini to Maurras, Hitler, and Mussolini, and the route appears to be circuitous. The former preached against the very things which the latter are championing. Yet the latter appear to be a lineal projection of the former. Present-day nationalism could hardly be what it is without the pioneering work of humanitarian nationalists, and the nationalism that is exclusive and intolerant has been propagated primarily by popular agencies which were created and fostered by nationalists who were liberal." In France and Germany it has taken a century and a half to make the circuit from Rousseau and Herder to Maurras and Hitler; in Italy it required less than a century to get from Mazzini to Mussolini. In Eastern Europe the speed of the cycle is rapidly accelerated. What of the new nationalities of the Orient? "They start with states not strictly national, ruled despotically and inefficiently, and suffering peculiarly from economic exploitation by 'progressive' nationalist states. What humanitarian or liberal, what person enamoured of modern European usage, can withhold sympathy from these Asiatic and African peoples as they start off on the path of nationalism? But what realist can be sure that that path will not eventually lead in Asia whither it has led in Europe?"

Most of the book is an elaboration of this typical evolution of nationalism in England, France and Germany. Five main stages are distinguished, illustrated from the writings of outstanding exponents. "The importance of these nationalist theorists resides in the fact that, having been themselves the result of the phenomenon they discuss rather than its cause, they have formulated and clearly expressed what has been vaguely in the minds of many men. But the philosophies of nationalism did not make its vogue. They merely expressed and gave some emphasis and guidance to it." Consequently, Professor Hayes classifies his figures in terms of the evolution of nationalism as a social movement, and projects them against the background of political and economic events and currents. There is little interest in attaching the nationalistic ideas of his illustrations to their basic philosophic positions, or in displaying them in their relation to reigning tendencies of thought. It is social,

not intellectual history that Professor Hayes is writing, and in which he is peculiarly competent.

Nationalism begins in the 18th century. Before that time the social loyalties of men were not attached to the national state, for no such state was in existence. To read nationalism back even into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is, thinks Professor Hayes, an anachronism. It was the humanitarians of the Enlightenment who first revived tribalism. Bolingbroke the Tory patriot, Rousseau the democrat, and Herder the enthusiast for old ballads and songs, are the examples. Such humanitarian nationalism, generous and internationally-minded, filled the emotional void left by the waning of personal religion. Men sceptical about Christian mythology had no doubts as to the national state.

Then came the Revolution, and a new and finer sentiment arose. This Jacobin nationalism started with devotion to Rousseau, but circumstances gave it teeth. Opposition demanded victory, and victory needed "organization." The crusade to free nations oppressed by tyrants became the campaign to conquer those who would not be free. Intolerance, aggression, militarism, fanaticism, and proselyting zeal were its marks. The Jacobins created the characteristic instruments for nationalist propaganda:- The citizen army, the public school, the common language, the popular journal, the patriotic society. They were bitterly anti-clerical and "secular," brooking no rival religion. And, though Barere and Carnot are the best theorists of this Jacobin nationalism, Napoleon was its most successful practical exponent.

The reactionary critics of the Revolution attempted to fight Jacobin nationalism with its own strongest weapon, nationalism. They appealed, not to reason and the rights of man, but to tradition and proscription; but they extolled the national state just as vigorously. Burke in England, Bonald in France, and Friedrich Schlegel in Germany appealed to their respective national traditions in defence of the established aristocratic order. They were horrified by the excesses of the Jacobins, yet in practice the traditionalists were driven to as intolerant and inhumane violence as their enemies. For a time the Metternich system, which could hardly afford to dally

with nationalism, drove this variety underground in central Europe, but it remained profoundly influential, and came into its own once more after national unification had been achieved.

The period before 1848 saw another type—liberal nationalism, middle class in character, devoted to laissez-faire, and yearning mightily to free oppressed nationalities in Austria and Italy. Professor Hayes regards Bentham as the prototype, and finds him the first exponent of internationalism in the modern sense. Later liberal nationalists, like Guizot, Welcher, and Mazzini, added a strong dash of romanticism to the compromise between Jacobinism and traditionalism. In theory pacifists and internationalists, envisaging a humanity made up of a harmonious symphony of nationalities, they were driven by the struggles of 1848-1870 to rely in practice more and more on blood and iron. "Here was the tragedy of liberal nationalism. Its logic and its fine intentions were not of themselves sufficient to insure its triumph. It needs must grasp the sword and slay its adversaries. The sword, therefore, it repeatedly grasped, and its adversaries it slaughtered in vast numbers. Revolt followed revolt, and war followed war."

Finally, there is what Professor Hayes calls "integral nationalism," following the definition of Maurras: "The exclusive pursuit of national policies, the absolute maintenance of national integrity, and the steady increase of national power—for a nation declines when it loses military might." This contemporary nationalism, seen at its purest in Fascist Italy and in Communist Russia, is the nationalism of nationalities that have successfully gained unification and independence. Alone of the varieties, it makes no pretense at an internationalism. Its doctrines Professor Hayes traces to men who, like Comte and Paine, were not nationalists themselves at all, but whose collectivistic criticism of democracy the integral nationalists have appropriated. It is Maurice Barres and Charles Maurras, of *L'Action Francaise,* whose theories best express the practice of integral nationalism in its intolerance, its anti-liberalism, its prostituting of the Church to its own ends, its militaristic reliance on force. But it is the Fascisti who have carried out its methods with most exquisite perfection to a Cæsarian dictatorship, and the Rus-

sian Bolshivists, "whose extreme nationalism," Professor Hayes thinks, "is likely to be remembered when the details of their economic experiments shall have been forgotten." The success of such integral nationalism is attributed to the militarist spirit engendered by "wars of liberation," to the feeling of superiority engendered by success, and to the effective functioning of the instruments of nationalist propaganda created by Jacobin and liberal nationalists.

Yet in any ultimate sense, Professor Hayes finds it hard to account for the vogue of extreme nationalism. The theorists have been puppets; they have created little, if they have clarified much. Nor for the historian, impressed by the essential novelty of allegiance to the national state, is it possible to fall back on an instinctive nationalism always present in the masses. Economic interpretations have regarded nationalism, like religion, as the soothing-syrup of bourgeois society, or else less naively as the natural emotional loyalty of an essentially national economic organization. Professor Hayes sees little help in these attempted explanations. While industrialism has certainly grown up side by side with nationalism, and is certainly far from an automatic guaranteee of international feeling—there are vigorous pages attacking the facile optimism of those who see an inevitable internationalism arising from industrial progress—it is probable that the present alliance of economic life and nationalism is due to the strength of the latter rather than any causal efficacy of the former. Both economic liberalism and socialism have been pressed into the service of nationalism. It is true that certain classes have profited greatly from nationalist policies. "But from evidence now available to us in Russia it seems plausible to imagine that, in measure as nations become proletarian, all citizens will expect to profit from nationalism, and that therefore nationalism will be further intensified. If nationalism is a soothing-syrup, then its efficacy depends less on a theory that capitalists administer it than on the fact that the masses now cry for it." Moreover economic progress and capitalism in the Hellenistic world led to the cosmopolitanism of Rome, not to nationalism.

Professor Hayes thinks that the growth of literacy and democratic desire have had some influence—even national dictators rest

on the popular will. He thinks also that the secularism and religious scepticism of modern times have created a void that has demanded a new secular religion. Unfortunately, his own example of the Hellenistic world tells against this—for ancient scepticism led to no nationalism. Most important of all is the growth of the belief that the national state can and should promote human progress. "What has given great vogue to nationalism in modern times? We really do not know. It is a pity that we do not know, for if we did, we could probably make some fairly accurate guess as to the future of nationalism. As it is, we have to content ourselves with hypotheses and suggestions. Of these, the most plausible would appear to be the underlying tendency in modern times to regard the national state as the medium through which civilization is best assured and advanced." But is this a real explanation? Is it not the "dormitive power of opium" once more?

What is the hope for the future? Assuredly, there is today a wide-spread popular will-to-peace, a feeling on the part of large numbers of influential citizens that they should not and must not violate an awakening *internationalist* conscience. Yet Professor Hayes remains sceptical. This feeling rests on a certain amount of international education, and on a disillusionment with war. But popular disillusionment with war has never survived the generation that fought; it is evanescent and sentimental, and changes easily to romantic glorification. And, international-mindedness has penetrated only a small minority: "professors, 'high-brows,' 'serious thinkers,' and some ladies of leisure, together with a liberal sprinkling of clergymen and publicists and exceptional bankers, business men and labor leaders." The masses are untouched. "It is probably utopian to imagine that in any grave crisis of the future that nationalistically indoctrinated citizens will be swayed by internationalist 'high-brows and ladies of leisure.' "

Can the masses in a national state be educated in internationalism when everything in their education is dominated by the nationalist tradition? Perhaps an enlightened minority can make headway. But "the minority cannot afford to be fatalistic; it must be purposeful and resourceful; it must be frankly and fearlessly pro-

pagandist. Nationalism in all its various forms, has always been more or less purposefully propagated. Internationalism, likewise, must be propagated more or less purposefully." There is no hope in waiting for automatic developments. If Professor Hayes is right in regarding nationalism as a secular religion that has displaced traditional supernaturalism, it is only a stronger religion of world unity that can overcome it.

The book closes with a vigorous appeal for practical international education—at home. Denunciation of foreign nationalisms will only strengthen them. America is far gone itself on the road of integral nationalism. It is not for us to lecture Europe, but to cast the beams from our own eyes. "The only way to resolve the problem and to make education serve international as well as national ends, to render it preparatory to peace even more than to war, is for enlightened, well-informed citizens to take a hand diligently and far-sightedly in shaping the education of their fellow-citizens within their respective national states. Education, like charity, should begin at home—with one's local school teachers and school board, with one's local newspaper, with one's own clubs and societies and associations. Within the United States must Americans seek the answers to the major questions whether international education is confined by the very nature of things to a comparatively small minority, whether present popular disillusionment about war will prove permanent and whether the masses in a national state can be educated in internationalism and for peace as well as in nationalism and for war."

ROUND TABLE

The generation which came to maturity in the year 1914 has witnessed more revolutionary changes than have ever taken place in any previous century or even ten centuries of world history.

After a war which combined the startling episodes and tragic agonies of all previous wars, thirteen years of "peace" have revealed the even more startling and tragic fact that the international situation has gone beyond any human control. The world plunges from crisis to crisis, each apparently unforeseen, as inevitably as a rudderless ship in a night of appalling storm.

Recall the newspaper headlines which have attempted to tell the amazing drama since Versailles: *U. S. Senate Repudiates Wilson's League; Russia Goes Bolshevik; Turks Burn Smyrna; Fascists March on Rome; Collapse of German Mark; France Invades Ruhr; League Takes Over Austrian Finances; General Strike Paralyses England; French Shell Damascus; China in Anarchy; Mexico Defies Church; India Rebels Against Britain; Jews Murdered in Palestine; Pope Wins Civil State; Gang Rule Threatens America; South America in Revolution; Australia Bankrupt; Stock Market Hits Bottom; World Unemployment Doubles in Year; Spanish Monarchy Overthrown; Hoover Proposes Moratorium . . .* thus, like rockets sent up from a ship in distress, events have thrown their lurid light, revealing the magnitude of the problem but not offering the steady illumination needed for its understanding and solution.

As long as the problem of world order was considered a matter of political evolution, the great mass of people remained indifferent. Now that investments and wages and markets are directly involved; now that our inherited social system as a whole is on trial, we enter upon an era when knowledge of world affairs, serious consideration of public policies, is no longer the privilege of the few but the obligation of every responsible human being. Nothing

short of the realization that we are henceforth members of a world community, and require new political, economic and religious standards adapted to that end, can stay the destructive influences of revolution and transform their dynamic power into constructive agencies making for progress and general well being.

It is at the crucial point where the intelligent man or woman first admits his personal experience is too limited to grasp the meaning of this changing age, his education is fatally incomplete and his outlook a generation behind the movement of events, that *World Unity Magazine* is appreciated as a "window opened upon the modern world."

In the pages of *World Unity,* an international group of scholars, concerned above all with the real meaning and direction of world trends, convey to the general public the larger and more important story *behind the headlines.* As historians they trace the connections between present episode and past condition; as sociologists they weigh the relative importance of political and economic revolutions; as philosophers they follow the tremendous alterations taking place in the realm of thought and belief. Their convictions are impartial and sincere, their conclusions scientific, raised by personal integrity and professional responsibility above the reign of dogma and propaganda.

The result of their cooperation has been to make available to general readers an invaluable source of the *new* knowledge—the *world* outlook on the "greatest drama in human history." Their contributions have made *World Unity* a "people's university" in which, for the nominal price of a magazine subscription, anyone may, in leisure time and at his own convenience, have the benefit of the matured thought of leading educators in Europe, the Orient and the United States.

Since 1927, the articles and serial works published in *World Unity* have created a new order of international knowledge, dealing with the vital issues affecting human life at every point.

THE TEACHER'S RESPONSIBILITY

Letters from World Unity Readers — II

The greatest single hindrance to progress, and the outstanding blight to our civilization is intolerance. It can be seen in all realms of human activity: it is evidenced equally in our educational, religious, economic, industrial, national, and international relationships. In its operation it calls to its aid bogeys and fears of an irrational type; it appeals to the emotional prejudices of the classes, and changes its guise to suit the particular conditions of the individual group or section which happens to be the immediate object of exploitation.

Any organization or any periodical which can do even a little to present the facts of our changing civilization in a fair, impartial, and unbiased manner is helping to create a tolerant atmosphere in which present changes may go forward to a rational and mutually helpful conclusion.

Science and the "machine" have had a large part in the creation of our present world. This has led, in the masses, to the glorification of pure "material" and material progress. The only possible antidote to such an attitude is an appeal to the ideal and spiritual resources of the race. In so far as any institution contributes to the deepening of the spiritual conception of life, and to an emphasis on the infinite value and inexhaustible resources of human personality, it is fulfilling a vital function in determining the main lines on the basis of which a new world is being created.

Particularly do I feel that on the teachers of the world devolves a large measure of responsibility for guiding and directing the tremendous forces which are now operative. With this in mind I would like to suggest that "World Unity" should strenuously endeavor to place on its subscription list every teacher who can possibly be reached. To further the value of the magazine to the teacher there might be instituted a department in which current movements and events would be described and discussed in such a way that they would be of practical assistance in the classroom.

Wishing "World Unity" long life and continuing influence, believe me,

Very truly yours,

JOS. MCCULLEY

Headmaster
Pickering College
Newmarket, Ontario

BOOKS FOR WORLD UNITY READERS

A WORLD COMMUNITY, by *John Herman Randall*

THE book for those who seek to grasp the world movement as a whole, with the inter-relations of economic, political, industrial and social factors, and a careful analysis of the trends making for international organization.

It has been included in the reading list issued by the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War.

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

by *Herbert Adams Gibbons*

IN THIS book, Dr. Gibbons has infused his historical scholarship with a lifetime of personal experience and participation in international affairs. The result is a study accurate enough for the classroom and interesting enough for the average reader.

"Nationalism and Internationalism" traces the evolution of political force from its first expression in the movement toward modern nationalism, through the nineteenth century, to its present expression in internationalism as the true outcome of national ideals.

SEVEN GREAT BIBLES, by *Alfred W. Martin*

HERE, at last, are the essential truths about Hinduism, Buddhism, Zorastrianism, Confucianism, Taoism, Muhammadanism, Judaism and Christianity that demonstrate the underlying unity and harmony in the texts from which these religions derive—a very history of the soul of man illumined from age to age by inspired teachers pointing the path to brotherhood and peace.

These three books have been published in the World Unity Library initiated and sponsored by this magazine. Per copy, $2.00. Any one title, with annual subscription to World Unity Magazine, $5.00; subscription and two books, $6.75; subscription and all three books, $8.50.

WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE

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